REPORT RESUMES

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A SEMINAR ON COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS.
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A 3-DAY SEMINAR BROUGHT TOGETHER 40 RESEARCH SPECIALISTS IN COMMUNICATIONS, DIRECTORS OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS, SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS, AND PROFESSORS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION. OBJECTIVES OF THE SEMINAR WERE--(1) TO REVIEW AND SYNTHESIZE SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING RESEARCH IN MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA, (2) TO POINT OUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS FOR USE IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS, AND (3) TO IDENTIFY NEEDED RESEARCH STUDIES IN MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA, AND ESPECIALLY WITH REFERENCE TO SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS. PAPERS ON RESEARCH STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY, SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, POLITICAL SCIENCE, JOURNALISM, AND COMMUNICATION ARTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA WERE PRESENTED. EACH PAPER WAS FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER POINTING OUT IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FOR USE IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS. EACH PARTICIPANT PREPARED A PAPER ON NEEDED RESEARCH IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS. THIS FINAL REPORT PRESENTS THE PRINCIPAL PAPERS OF THE SEMINAR, ORGANIZED IN THREE PARTS--(1) MASS COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH, (2) IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS, AND (3) NEEDED RESEARCH. LISTED ARE 279 REFERENCES. (JC)

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Cooperative Research Project No. G-037

LESLIE W. KINDRED, Editor

Assisted By

GEORGE N. FEHR, JR.

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College of Education, Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

A Seminar on Communications Research Findings and Their Implications for School-Community Relations Programs

Cooperative Research Project No. G-037

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1965

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PREFACE

An examination of scholarly journals and related publications in psychology, sociology, political science, journalism, and the communication arts with special reference to motion pictures, radio, and television reveals a surprisingly large number of research studies dealing with various aspects of mass communication.

Unfortunately, little has been done to bring the findings and conclusions of these studies into a synthesized pattern or to look at their implications for improving the art and science of mass communication in everyday life. There have been, it is true, a few notable volumes summarizing and synthesizing research in particular disciplines as well as an occasional conference devoted to the same end, but their coverage of existing research studies has been slight and the practical applications of the findings have been omitted almost entirely.

The real contributions of the accumulated research will remain buried in the literature unless careful and systematic attempts are made to bring it to the surface and to explore its implications for improving the communication process.

With this thought as the principal consideration, a proposal was submitted to the United States Office of Education asking for the financial support of a seminar. The seminar was to have three purposes, namely, to bring together the findings and conclusions of important research studies in mass communication, to look at the implications of these findings and conclusions for school-community relations programs, and to point up needed research in mass communication either with or without reference to school-community relations.

The proposal was approved by the United States Office of Education and the seminar was held at Temple University in April, 1965. Forty-two persons were invited to take part in the seminar meetings. About one-half of the number were research specialists in mass communication and the other half were from the field of educational administration, including professors of educational administration, superintendents of schools, and directors of school-community relations programs.

The principal papers that were presented and discussed at the seminar are reproduced on the pages that follow. Except for some minor editing, no alterations have been made in them. In reading these papers, it becomes evident that some of the authors departed slightly from the stated purposes of the seminar. Despite this fact, the papers represent an initial effort to have communications research specialists and educators explore opportunities for sharing ideas and interests and for seeing what might be done to establish more effective mass communication in the field of public education.

It was the feeling of those who participated in the seminar that the time was spent profitably and that similar conferences should be held in the future. There is no doubt but that the seminar opened doors that had been closed too long and it revealed a series of constructive possibilities for improving mass communications.

A note of appreciation is due to the men who served on the planning committee for the seminar. They did much more than was expected and through their efforts insured the success of the undertaking.

LESLIE W. KINDRED

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Part I

MASS COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH

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CHAPTER 1

The Emergent Pessimistic Perspective: A Sociological Contribution to Mass Communication

HAROLD MENDELSOHN

THE FUTILITY OF GROSS INFERENCE

I shall begin by stating what I shall not do.

Realizing that the scientific method dictates a preface of intention and purpose prior to launching into the essence of a learned offering, I nevertheless shall eschew this not because I am irreverent of scientific protocol, but rather because I want to make a point.

What I propose *not* to do is to attempt to pinpoint detailed specific "contributions" that sociology or sociologists may or may not have made to mass communications in the vague hope that I might score some points for the home team. I shall not attempt to inventory the sociological "findings" of mass communications in the specific, nor do I intend to review the major proportion of researches in mass communications that have been conducted by scholars of varied scientific persuasions. Furthermore, I decline to define communication or mass communication. All this has been done for us (and for the most part has been done well), in various contemporary compendia of mass communication research findings.[1] To go over this ground once more would not only be divorced of merit, but I am afraid it would prove to be overwhelmingly boring as well. However, I prefer not to resort to the inventories of mass communications research conclusions for one additional reason.

The point I wish to make is that recourse to reporting the available catalogue of research findings in mass communications in itemized form can do nothing but result in a distorted view of mass communication knowledge and its sources. The distortion may be reflected either in an overly positive or an overly negative orientation to mass communication and what can and cannot be expected of it.

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[1] Among the most recent such compendia are: B. Berelson and G. A. Steiner, *Human Behavior*, Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1964; Chapter 13, "Mass Communication," H. Mendelsohn, *Mass Communication Research for Safety*, National Safety Council, 1964; W. Schramm, ed., *The Science of Human Communication*, Basic Books, 1963; E. Rogers, *The Diffusion of Innovations*, The Free Press, 1962; J. T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, The Free Press, 1960; J. Ball and F. C. Byrnes (eds.), *Research, Principles and Practices in Visual Communication*, Michigan State University, 1960.

For the practitioner who desperately seeks guidance for his practical endeavors in mass persuasion, the "conclusions" that are reported in the mass communication "results" inventories may afford some reassurance that he is practicing his craft within a sophisticated scientific frame of reference. He may derive a considerable sense of "know-how" and confidence from noting the progress that has been made in mass communication research during the past thirty years. For example, in his new sophistication he may come to realize that if he applies himself to assimilating what Maccoby (1963) has termed the "new 'scientific' rhetoric" of Carl Hovland and his psychologist disciples of the "Yale School," he will become an effective and successful communicator. Or, perhaps he will choose a shiny new communication model from his neighborhood cybernetics showroom, and he will develop his communications efforts accordingly, believing himself to be scientifically "with it." Such exercises could easily lead our hypothetical hero into a blissful optimism about what mass communications allegedly can accomplish.

On the other hand, the student of mass communication who is steeped in social science tradition may come to view the current status of mass communication knowledge as reflecting little more than warmed over restatements of traditional observations, and thus become overly critical of mass communication research.

Let me try to show you how easily one can become quite disenchanted with the research efforts of the past three decades by referring himself solely to the research "findings" in contemporary compendia.

The demonstration requires examining major contemporary findings regarding the effects of mass communication and matching them with similar observations from an era that preceded modern social science abstract empiricism. For our modern source let us refer to the book *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Finding* written in 1964 by Bernard Berelson, himself a significant contemporary contributor to the sociological study of mass communication, in collaboration with Gary A. Steiner, a psychologist researcher in mass communication. According to the authors, this book attempts "to present as fully and as accurately as possible, what the behavioral sciences now know about the behavior of human beings: what we really know, what we nearly know, what we think we know, what we claim to know." A rather awesome undertaking. For contrast let us refer to a book that was first published in 1895, *The Crowd*, by Gustave Le Bon, the French sociologist who is considered by many scholars as the most significant founding contributor to the modern social psychological school of mass communication research. In the Introduction to *The Crowd*, Le Bon suggests that his volume too has synthesized the "findings" of his time, although somewhat less ambitiously, when he wrote "Our study of the genius of crowds can merely be a brief synthesis, a simple summary of our investigations."

Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd*, New York: Viking Press, 1960, (originally published in French, Paris, 1895) wrote:	B. Berelson and G. A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1964, wrote:
1. ". . . crowds are not to be influenced by reasoning, and can only comprehend rough and ready association of ideas. The orators who know how to make an impression upon them always appeal in consequence to their sentiments and never to their reason. The laws of logic have no action on crowds."	1. "The communication of facts is typically ineffective in changing opinions in desired directions against the force of audience predispositions, the less effective the communication of facts."
2. "The opinions and beliefs of crowds may be divided into two very distinct classes. On the one hand we have great permanent beliefs, which endure for several centuries, and on which an entire civilization may rest . . . In the second place there are the transitory, changing opinions, the outcome, as a rule, of general conceptions, of which every age sees the birth and disappearance. Opinions of this order are as superficial, as a rule, as fashion, and as changeable.	2. ". . . mass communications can be effective in producing a shift on unfamiliar lightly felt, peripheral issues — those that do not matter much to the audience or are not tied to audience predispositions. On the others, it is effective in reinforcing opinions but only infrequently changes them. ". . . The effect of communications programs that try to convert opinions on controversial issues is usually slight."

"The great generalized beliefs are very restricted in number. "It is easy to imbue the minds of crowds with a passing opinion, but very difficult to implant therein a lasting belief. However, a belief of this latter description once established, it is difficult to uproot it."	
3. "(Personal prestige) is a faculty independent of all titles, of all authority, and possessed by a small number of persons whom it enables to exercise a veritably magnetic fascination on those around them, although they are socially their equals, and lack all ordinary means of domination. They force the acceptance of their ideas and sentiments on those about them, and they are obeyed as is the tamer of wild beasts by the animal that could easily devour him."	3. "The mass media exercise an important indirect influence through 'opinion leaders' – those trusted and informed people who exist in virtually all primary groups, who are the 'models' for opinion within their group."
4. "Prestige in reality is a sort of domination exercised on our mind by an individual, a work, or an idea. This domination entirely paralyzes our critical faculty, and fills our soul with astonishment and respect."	4. "The more trustworthy, credible, or prestigious the communicator is considered to be, the less manipulative his intent is considered to be and the greater the immediate tendency to accept his conclusions."
5. "Thanks to general beliefs, the men of every age are enveloped in a network of traditions, opinions, and customs which render them all alike, and from whose yoke they cannot extricate themselves. Men are guided in their conduct above all by their beliefs and by the customs that are the consequence of those beliefs. These beliefs and customs regulate the smallest acts of our existence and the most independent spirit cannot escape their influence."	5. "On matters involving group norms the more attached people are to the group or the more active they are within it, the more their membership determines their response to communications."
6. "To bring home conviction to crowds it is necessary first of all to comprehend thoroughly the sentiments by which they are animated, to pretend to share these sentiments, then to endeavor to modify them."	6. "People respond to persuasive communications in line with their predispositions, and they change accordingly. Communications will be most effective – that is, will secure the response most in line with the intention of the communicator – when they are in accord

	with audience predispositions: when they tell people what they (most) want to be told."
7. "At the end of a certain time we have forgotten who is the author of the repeated assertion, and we finish by believing it."	7. "Over time, people gradually lose factual information presented by the media. In the case of evaluational statements, however, there can later be an increased effect (the 'sleeper' effect) . . ."
8. "The precise moment at which a great belief is doomed is easily recognizable; it is the moment when its value begins to be called in question."	8. "When people's opinions, attitudes, and beliefs do not hang together harmoniously, they are more likely to change some of them."

The briefest encounter with this comparison could easily suggest that our contemporary conclusions about the non-rational reactions of audiences to persuasive communications; about the tenacity of group-anchored core attitudes, opinions, and beliefs; about the immunizing functions of social predispositions; about the critical role of prestige sources and opinion leaders; about cognitive dissonance — all represent mere contemporary window-dressing jargon for "findings" that were promulgated at least seventy years ago. In a sense we might conclude from such an exercise that the contribution of sociology to mass communications has been limited to a handful of time-worn cliches which by themselves do not seem to add up to very much of significance.

Let me hasten to indicate that such is not the case, even though it might seem to be when we first try to draw from such data gross, crude inferences about sociology's effect upon mass communication. If we persist in forcing current empirically derived findings in mass communication to fit the mold of non-empiric speculation we shall be denying the importance of the slow, careful, painful development of an ever-increasing scientific orientation that blends theory with empiricism in seeking solutions to the problems of mass communication. We shall be doing a grave injustice to those who have labored with great diligence and imagination in this field, and we shall be deprecating the very knowledge that has been accumulated. Consequently, let me point out that if one is interested in tracing the "contributions" of sociology, or for that matter, of any other social or linguistic science to mass communication, one cannot merely settle upon a methodology which compares current findings with those that have been promulgated in generations past. The task is far more difficult.

EIGHT POSTULATES AND HOW THEY GREW

If we are to attempt to trace the sociological influences upon mass communications, we must examine "conclusions" in the light of how they were derived. We must look into basic sociological assumptions that gave way to specific hypotheses that in turn generated methodological orientations to gathering the data that eventually emerged as sociological conclusions. In other words, sociological conclusions about mass communications must be examined within their salient theoretical and methodological perspectives if they are to be credited with having actually been derived from the sociological disciplines. If mass communications is a derivative rather than a substantive discipline, we must seek to ascertain what the field has derived uniquely from sociology. This is important not from the point of view of the historical development of an intellectual discipline alone (in itself a problem that falls within the rubric of the "sociology of knowledge"). Perhaps even more importantly, a concise statement of the sociological contribution to mass communication can help point out portents for significant developments still to come in the field to scholars, researchers, and practitioners alike.

The sociological influence on mass communication must first of all be ascertained in terms of the scientific tools that allow for the application of what C. Wright Mills (1959) has identified as the "sociological imagination" to problems of mass communication. Indeed, the sociological imagination itself can be considered a significant influence on the study of mass communication.

Of the many statements regarding the essence of the sociological perspective on communications, perhaps this declaration by the communication theorist Colin Cherry (1957) is most succinct as well as seminal:

> It has become cliche to refer to man as "the communicating animal." Of all his functions, that of building up systems of communication of infinite variety and purpose is one of the most characteristic. Of all living creatures he has the most complex

> and adaptable systems of language; he is the most observant of his physical environment and the most responsive in his adjustment to it . . .
>
> A man is not an isolated being in a void, he is essentially integrated into society. The various aspects of man's behavior — his means of livelihood, his language and all forms of self-expression, his systems of economics and law, his religious ritual, all of which involve him in acts of communication — are not discrete and independent but are inherently related . . .

Cherry's synopsis has capsulated a tradition of sociological theories that hark back to the dim beginnings of man's concern with himself as well as others. Thus, ancient Hindu teaching stressed that the very essence of ego (i.e., self and its psychological attributes of emotion, cognition, and motivation) is primarily a product of social contact and interaction. In Confucianism we find the proposition, "the heart of a man who observes no rules of propriety is the heart of a beast," while Aristotle not only proclaimed man as essentially social in character, but in addition averred that "without law and justice (and society) man would be the worst of animals."

Historically, sociology has attempted to formalize ancient and more contemporary historical social philosophies into a body of postulates that serve as the conceptual frames of reference within which sociologists of all callings work. Within the framework of time allotted to this paper, I shall outline eight such postulates in order to demonstrate important ways in which sociology affects the study of mass communications. The enumeration obviously cannot be considered exhaustive. Rather, I have selected those postulates from the "Grand Theories" of sociology which I consider to be a particular pertinence to mass communication:

> *Postulate 1.* Born into a group that is part of a given culture within a given social system (or social organization), man is essentially oriented to behaviors that reflect socially derived regularities. Man's behavior is neither purely individualized, nor is it random.
>
> *Postulate 2.* The essence of the social milieu, the totality of which is identified as culture, into which man is born, is essential to his becoming a human being. Consequently, men do not "inherit" culture, but rather acquire it (and thereby the essences of humanity) via processes of communication (i.e., socialization).
>
> *Postulate 3.* Because man cannot attain humanity by living alone,

he necessarily must refer his behavior to others. How he orients himself to others is regulated by social proscriptions that are called norms. These norms define appropriate and inappropriate behaviors within a wide variety of situations. Norms reside within social institutions that govern social and individual behavior through the application of social sanctions as rewards for normative behavior, punishments for serious deviant behavior (i.e., social control).

Postulate 4. Within institutions norms are expressed as opinions, attitudes, and beliefs that have the force of proscription behind them. Examples of these are folkways which carry relatively mild sanctions with them and mores which are accompanied by serious sanction powers. There are further expressions of norms in codes, laws, and regulations as well.

Postulate 5. Because all institutionalized norms do not apply equally to all persons within a society (e.g., the ruler and the subject, the teacher and the student, the policeman and the criminal), institutions cannot be considered the only elements of socialization and social control. The very positions or statuses that people occupy vis-a-vis other statuses or positions in various social groupings also serve as vehicles of socialization and social control. This is accomplished via rules of conduct (again norms) that indicate how people occupying these statuses must comport themselves. These particular sets of norms are termed social roles which all human beings in all societies literally play. Chinoy (1954) clarifies the distinction between social status and social role in this manner: "Status and role are . . . two sides of a single coin. Status is the position in relation to other positions; role is the pattern of behavior expected of persons who occupy a particular status."

Postulate 6. In toto, the elements making up social structure are functional (socially integrative) in making explicit the cultural objectives that are to be pursued legitimately in a society, along with pointing out the legitimate means through which these goals may be achieved. However, Merton (1957) points out that dysfunction (social disintegration) may occur when an imbalance between explicitly stated legitimized goals without provision of institutionalized means for achieving such goals appears. Social institutions, norms, and roles then may be simultaneously both functional and dysfunctional.

Postulate 7. The groups into which men are born, those in which they have their most significant experiences, and those into which they may desire membership have a profound and long-lasting influence on their ways of life, their aspirations, their relationships with others, their seeking out of communication, and their reactions in communication situations. These group linkages serve as both facilitators of and barriers to mass communication.

> *Postulate 8.* Social facts can be interpreted primarily in terms of social antecedents. Furthermore, Durkheim (1947) points out that social phenomena must be viewed "in terms of interconnections of operation rather than in terms of separate units." This has led to modern methods of functional analysis in the sociological study of mass communication.

Using these fundamental postulates as guides, a host of sociologists from both the United States and Europe has worked to build a rather substantial bridgehead of mass communication knowledge. In reshaping the fundamentals of sociological thought, scholars such as Cooley, George Herbert Mead, Le Bon, Tarde, Simmel, Tonnies, and Mannheim pointed out the significance of the study of communications as being pivotal in the study of society. The essential perspective of these thinkers was that society cannot exist without communication and that communication cannot exist without society.

It was from the undue stress that these classically oriented sociologists placed upon the importance of communication in society that arose what I like to call the optimistic perspective on mass communication. If communication was the essential element in consolidating society as the sociologists of consensus viewed it, it was clear that communication was capable of destroying social solidarity through purposive manipulation. Thus, the more psychologically oriented sociologists of the classical European school became concerned with the alleged ability of mass communications in the hands of powerful groups to manipulate populations almost at will. The views of Tarde, Simmel, Le Bon, and Karl Marx on the persuasibility of the masses all suggested that men are easily led into a variety of behaviors — many of which actually being contrary to their own interests — through manipulations of the communication processes. Coupled with early behavioristic psychologies, the optimistic conceptions of these sociologists led to the notion that is still current, particularly among many experimental psychologists, that communications — mass communications — are capable of generating powerful "effects" upon their recipients. The optimistic view stemming from the European sociologists of mass behavior sees man as essentially atomized, governed by needs over which he has little control, and as being highly susceptible to suggestion from without. Thus, the optimistic view has laid stress upon what communications "do" to people. Curiously, this stress has been picked up by the contemporary psychological school of mass communication research, and, as I shall point out, most importantly has been given ever-decreasing emphasis by contemporary sociological students of mass communication.

Perhaps this one development represents sociology's most important contribution to mass communication study. Let us examine this development in some detail. To do this we must return momentarily to the eight postulates that have been put forth within a somewhat modified frame of reference.

The classic sociological orientation has focused scholarly attention on social organization and its varied influences on the attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and behaviors of human beings. Because the individual in society must be made aware of the norms that maintain that society, if it is to continue, *transmission* of norms becomes the *sine qua non* of maintaining social as well as personal organization. In effect, the transmission process is one of communication in social milieux. Since attitudes and beliefs emerge in social communications situations, no doubt they can be changed thereby as well. Here we find the historical basis for the modern sociological interest in mass communication.

For many years sociologists have concerned themselves with the communications process in terms of delineating the ways in which social norms are transmitted to individual members of society. The course of research in these undertakings stressed social influence and played down, or even denied outright, the influences of psychology in the social communication processes.

Two schools of thought predominated the study of the influence of social structure and social participation on the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of man, the social being: one was European in origin, the other, American. In actuality it is clear that these schools themselves were affected by the social structures of the societies from which they emerged.

Rooted in societies where the masses were denied access to economic and political power for centuries, European sociologists such as Durkheim, Simmel, Pareto, Mannhein, Scheler, Marx, and Tonnies were concerned primarily with the breakup of absolute power and the emergence of ideologies that helped spawn, nourish, and at times defeat the attempts of the masses to achieve such power. The view here was that not only are men the historical products of social organization but that social, economic, and political ideologies were determined by social structure as well. Thus, to the European sociologists of knowledge, social structure was seen as a determinant of ideas (even science) which in turn influenced the conduct of men. Social status determined whether and how one develops ideas, and since social status was rather rigidly pre-defined in European countries, the sociologists of knowledge concentrated on problems that were concerned with ideologies as they were reflected in economic, political, and intellectual authority. How authority was achieved, how it was maintained, and how it could be changed through social ideas was the focus of attention. Authority and power were seen as the fundamental elements in the social communication process. Although the sociology of knowledge encompasses a vast army of theoretical considerations regarding the social determinants of beliefs, thoughts, notions, concepts, hypotheses, myths, and such, Merton (1957) points up the fundamental organizing principle within the sociology of knowledge:

> The sociology of knowledge came into being with the signal hypothesis that even truths were to be held socially accountable, were to be related to the historical society in which they emerged.

Essentially, the sociologists of knowledge have indicated a variety of ways in which men's thoughts are affected mainly by social structure rather than by individual physiological or psychological influences.

For example, for Karl Marx just one variable was to be considered – the "modes of production" that prevailed in a given society.

For Durkheim, Mannheim, and Tonnies, group structure and the participation in groups played the essential roles in shaping the values, beliefs, and ideas of individuals. Thus Durkheim and Tonnies both made differentiations in the kinds of values and beliefs that groups generate within relatively simple societies where relations are primarily "personal" as compared with those that prevail in complex "impersonal" societies.

Scheler saw no one constant variable as serving the essential social influence on the ideas of men. Instead, Scheler noted a progression of variables that extend from primary group influences to political structures to economic systems as acting upon the development and transmission of human ideas.

The importance of the European sociologists of knowledge for contemporary mass communication study lies in their delineations of the various social forces that affect the social and cognitive perceptions and behaviors of human beings. In setting forth these theories, the European sociologists of knowledge have emphasized to us the need to be aware of the relativistic origins as well as functions of attitudes, beliefs, and opinions. They have pointed up how an individual's social background in terms of status and perspective causes him to approach ideas selectively and causes him to react to such ideas selectively. In short, the European sociologists of knowledge have laid down strategies for investigating the effects of mass communications in terms of a variety of sociological variables that range from an audience's actual positioning in the class system down to – in modern terms – its reference group behavior. Importantly as well, the European sociologists of knowledge have taught us to view the interrelationships of sociological variables such as social status, group membership, conformist behavior, and ideological orientation as functionally related units of motivation and behavior. Consequently, modern sociological investigations of mass communications have found it impossible to explore the communications processes without relating them to social structures – both on the individual and societal level.

For the most part, American sociologists of the classical school reacted to the overemphasis on societal influences on human behavior that European "sociologism" fostered. Unlike Europeans, the American founding sociologists were not so much concerned with the seizure and control of political-economic power as they were with the establishment of consensual reciprocities between the governing and governed. In this view, "public opinion" was seen as the fundamental guideline for *democratic* political authority. Thus, early American sociologists were primarily concerned with the two-way flow of communications *between* the people and their leaders in the reciprocal exchange of ideas, values, and beliefs. From such exchanges between the individual citizen's opinions and the opinions of leaders it was believed that consensus regarding the common welfare emerges. American sociology thus shifted focus from ideologies in broad social contexts to a new social-psychological emphasis on individual beliefs, attitudes, opinions — how they originate, how they are expressed, how they can be controlled.

The work of American sociologists George Herbert Mead, Charles Horton Cooley, Robert E. Park, and W. I. Thomas served as a corrective to European sociologism by refocussing attention on the individual in the social environment. Where Durkheim in his *Rules of the Sociological Method* proclaimed that "sociology is not a corollary of psychology," and that "not in psychology, but in the very nature of society, it is necessary to look for an explanation of social life," W. I. Thomas averred in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* that

> The human personality is both a continually producing factor and a continually produced result of social evolution, and the double relation expresses itself in every elementary social fact . . .
>
> The cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon.

The work of the pioneering American sociologists turned to an emphasis on the emergence of individual personality through the medium of social interaction. Thus, the founding American sociologists forged an important link in the developing chain of sociological thought. Not only were ideas the products of social organization, but such psychological phenomena as ego, perception, motivation, attitude and personality could now be hooked up to specific generating social — particularly group — contexts.

I (1964) have indicated elsewhere how this linkage was made possible conceptually:

> In order to interpret the complex relationships between attitudes and social structure, W. I. Thomas developed a conceptual tool of considerable importance to the study of mass communication — the social definition of the situation. It was Thomas who taught us to view the interplay between the variables of personality, culture, and social structure as the real stuff of communications. Merton's *Mass Persuasion* is an outstanding example of the modern application of this frame of reference to a particular problem in mass communication.

Mead and Cooley both focused upon the importance of primary groups in the development of human personality as well as social attitudes and beliefs. According to these scholars, human behavior can be explained only in terms of actions taken within the contexts of group expectations and sanctions. In order to understand the behaviors of men, they argued, we must first determine to what degree that behavior reflects the perspectives of the group with which they are in fact affiliated. Thus, the groundwork was laid for a significant modern development in contemporary mass communications research — the exploration of interpersonal relationships in the mass communications process.

THE CULTIVATION OF PESSIMISM

Modern sociologists in the mass communication area such as Merton, Elihu Katz, Lazarsfeld, Rogers, Menzel, Klapper and Coleman, as well as social psychologists such as Hyman, Sherif, Asch and Newcomb, have borrowed significantly from Cooley's, Mead's, and Sumner's preoccupations with group influences on attitudes and behaviors, and have developed the contemporary focus on reference group theory and personal influence theory in mass communication.

Merton (1957) comments on the emergence of reference group theory in this manner:

> That men act in a social frame of reference yielded by the groups of which they are a part is a notion undoubtedly ancient and probably sound. Were this the only concern of reference group theory, it would merely be a new term for an old focus in sociology, which has always centered on the group determination of behavior. There is, however, the further fact that men frequently orient themselves to groups *other than their own* in shaping their behavior and evaluations, and it is the problems centered about this fact of orientation to non-membership groups that constitute the distinctive concern of reference group theory.

Thus, reference group theory adds a new and exciting dimension to classical sociological theory. If men internalize communicated social norms, they do so in terms of various group expectations which are actually so or *are imputed* in terms of specific audiences — a mechanism that G. H. Mead (1934) identified as the human ability of "taking on the role of the generalized other". Reference group theory thus provided researchers in mass communications with two invaluable analytic instruments:

First, through the application of reference group theory we could now account for what first appeared as irreconcilable inconsistencies in the behavior of the same individuals under varying social situations (e.g., the new focus on the role of "cross-pressures" in influencing voting behavior).

Secondly, we could now begin to explain why men select out alternatives of behavior that seem on the surface to be inconsistent with their own self-interest (e.g., public resistance to community fluoridation and to the use of automobile seat belts).

As a consequence of the development of reference group theory, then, we have acquired analytic tools that help to explain a wide variety of human motivations and behaviors in communications situations without resorting to the clumsy paradigm of purely "psychological" rewards and deterrents.

Shibutani's comments deserve reiteration here (1955):

> In the analysis of the behavior of men in mass societies the crucial problem is that of ascertaining how a person defines the situation, which perspectives he uses in arriving at such a definition, and who constitutes the audience whose responses provide the necessary confirmation and support for his position. This calls for focusing attention upon the expectations the actor imputes to others, the communication channels in which he participates, and his relations with those with whom he participates, and his relations with those with whom he identifies himself.

In effect, then, the historical focus on group-related attitudes and behaviors has served to furnish modern investigators with sociologically significant variables in the mass communication process — variables that cannot be investigated in the psychological laboratory, but rather, that call for study in their "natural social habitats" in terms of their roots in normal friendship patterns, family ties, group allegiances, community traditions, and actual formal and informal communications networks. It is in this context that we begin to determine the unique contributions of sociology to mass communications.

Elihu Katz (1960) noted the signficance of this sociological contribution when he wrote:

> Until very recently, the image of society in the minds of most students of communication was of atomized individuals, connected with the mass media but not with one another. Society — the "audience" — was conceived of aggregates of age, sex, social class, and the like, but little thought was given to the relationships implied thereby or to more informal relationships. The point is not that the student of mass communications was unaware that members of the audience have families and friends but that he

> did not believe that they might affect the outcome of a campaign; informal, inter-personal relations, thus, were considered irrelevant to the institutions of modern society.
>
> What research on mass communications has learned in its three decades is that the mass media are far less potent than had been expected. A variety of studies – with the possible exception of marketing campaigns – indicates that people are not easily persuaded to change their opinions and behavior. The search for the sources of resistance to change as well as for the effect of sources of influence when changes *do* occur, led to the discovery of the role of interpersonal relations. The shared values in groups of family friends and co-workers and the networks of communication which are their structure, and the decisions of members to accept or resist a new idea – all these are interpersonal processes which "intervene" between the campaign in the mass media and the individual who is the ultimate target. These recent discoveries, of course, upset the traditional image of the individualized audience upon which the discipline has been based.

The contemporary sociological "rediscovery of the primary group" by mass communications research scholars who work in the developing traditions of what has been dubbed "the Columbia school" has already had the most significant influence on mass communications research and practice in this country as well as abroad.

From these efforts have emerged a number of important mass communications principles that together in my estimation reflect the significant contributions of sociology in this field. Let me attempt to highlight just a few:

> 1. Instead of focusing on what mass communication does to individuals, we must now look to what individuals do with mass communications.
>
> 2. What people do with mass communications depends on various self-selective processes that involve exposure to messages and the retention of messages. The workings of these self-selective processes in turn are functions, to a large extent, of the social statuses occupied by audiences, their social roles, their actual and aspired social group identifications, and their positioning in informal social networks of communications.
>
> 3. Because so many variables "intervene" between what the communicator hopes to achieve with a given communication and its ultimate reception by audiences, it is improbable that a good deal of "conversion" can be accomplished directly via mass communications alone. Rather, on most important issues, mass communication messages alone serve to either crystallize latent predispositions or to reenforce already held attitudes. These latter

consequences are the "effects" with which contemporary sociologists are mainly concerned.

4. Conversions or the diffusion of innovations via mass communications alone (or primarily) are likely to occur under contions where customary and traditional social influences are disrupted or are rendered irrelevant for the adoption of the suggested ideas.

Otherwise, large scale conversions can be accomplished only by a monopolization of messages or by *combining* formal mass communications with informal "personal influence" efforts in actual social contexts.

5. Because the processes by which mass communications "effects" are produced are so related to time and complex social influences, it is probably as important to investigate what is happening to target publics *between* mass communication campaigns as well as immediately after specific campaigns in order to understand "effects." We can no longer equate "effects" with simple exposure.

Clearly the work of the European sociologists of knowledge and the efforts of pioneering American sociologists who laid the groundwork of modern social psychology have converged into a new sociological orientation to mass communications which is essentially pessimistic about how powerful mass communications actually are. The "new look" offers serious challenges to the optimistic approaches to mass communication effects by raising important questions about the efficacy of searching for specific effects that are allegedly produced by specific mass communication stimuli without regard for the totalities of the specific situational influences that impinge upon the communicator, his messages, and upon those who are on the receiving end of the communication process.

Klapper (1960) comments on the emergence of the "new" sociological approach to mass communication in this manner:

> The new orientation (to the study of effects) . . . is in essence a shift away from the tendency to regard mass communication as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, toward a view of the media as influences; working amid other influences in a total situation. The old quest of specific effects stemming from the communications has given way to the observation of existing conditions or changes, followed by an inquiry into the factors, *including* mass communication, which produced those conditions and changes, and the roles which these factors played relative to each other. In short, attempts to assess a stimulus which was presumed to work alone have given way to an assessment of the role of that stimulus in a total observed phenomenon.

Were I compelled to capsulate the sociological contribution to mass communications, then, I would do so mainly in terms of the pessimistic orientation that it has afforded both scholars and practitioners alike. This pessimism is most salutary in that it has turned our scientific attention away from the relative sterility of building mechanistic "communication models" that have but the remotest application to the realities of men in actual social situations. It also has forced us to re-evaluate the short-term speculations of what *might be happening* to people that have emerged from countless artificial laboratory single variable psychological experiments which in effect have far greater implication for learning, perception, and rhetoric than they do for mass communication.

The turn-around that has been achieved by the emergent sociological pessimistic perspective on mass communication not only has served as an essential corrective to much of mass communication knowledge that has been gleaned from other scientific orientation, but, more importantly, it offers the potential of a substantial step forward in the ever-growing quest for substantive knowledge about the actual workings of mass communication. Thus, from these seeds of sociologically based pessimism may blossom forth a realistic optimism. Was it not E. A. Bennett who affirmed, "Pessimism, when you get used to it, is just as agreeable as optimism"?

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CHAPTER 2

The Role of Journalism Education in Mass Communications Research

DAVID MANNING WHITE

It was the late Albert D. Lasker, to whom the epithet "founder of modern advertising" is often attributed, who once said, "Research is something that tells you that a jackass has two ears." However, as one who has lived with the title of research professor of journalism for sixteen years, I find myself more in sympathy with a line that Charles R. Darwin wrote in a letter to a friend, "I love fools' experiments; I am always making them."

My assignment in this paper is to discuss the more important research studies pertaining to mass communication from the point of view of a journalist and an educator or, if you will, a journalism educator. This calls for some clarification and some ground rules regarding the boundaries of my discussion.

My paper will concern itself primarily with those aspects of journalism research which have been influenced predominantly by the behavioral sciences. In focusing on such studies I do not in any sense wish to give the impression that the behavioral-oriented type of research is the only kind worth considering. Journalism education has, for example, had among its cohorts such notable historians as Willard Bleyer[1] or the late Frank Luther Mott, whose writings in the history of the American magazine earned him a Pulitzer prize, and whose superb history of American journalism is a source-book for the field.

There has been, for the past half-century, research of high quality in the law of communication, freedom of the press and other aspects of government-press relationships, biography, press performance and ethics — in short, hundreds of studies which are non-quantitative in nature. However, since I take it to be the purpose of this conference to examine the various disciplines' approach of mass communications' problems, it seems meaningful to restrict my analysis primarily to those studies in which hypotheses are formulated and tested.

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[1] The remarkable influence of Professor Bleyer on journalism education, in general, and in a substantial sense with the emergence of journalism research as a discipline can be noted in the fact that at one period he had as graduate students, Ralph B. Casey, Ralph O. Nafziger, Frederick Siebert and Chilton Bush.

It is only fair to state that a considerable proportion of journalism professors in American colleges and universities has shown considerable sympathy with the Lasker definition of research cited above. The nature of the conflict between the few universities, which because of their extensive graduate programs contribute most of the significant research, and the rest of the schools in which journalism is taught, but with no extensive research program, is not in the purlieu of this paper. Suffice it to say, there has been (and will continue to be) considerable anxiety on the part of many journalism educators on what they consider an excessive trend toward communications research. Typical of such critics is Professor John Tebbel, an extremely gifted writer and teacher and head of the department of journalism at New York University. In the October 10, 1964 issue of the *Saturday Review,* Tebbel wrote:

> Those who oppose the sociologists of journalism, it must be understood, do not want to eliminate them, although a few unreconstructed souls remain unconvinced of the validity of communications research and regard it as a fake science, occupied for the most part with trivialities. The anti-sociologists are simply convinced that communications research has succeeded in developing its own discipline, quite different from journalism, and should operate as a distinct entity within the university structure, entirely apart from journalism education.

In Tebbel's view (and he is spokesman for many),

> The communications sociologists are riding confidently on the wave of the new technological society being created in our time, where the computer is king, and anything that cannot be reduced to tape, microfilm, punch card, or statistics is hardly worth bothering about.

Although I feel that Professor Tebbel overstates his case, I too would plead for a balanced approach to journalism education, in which research plays an integral role. I know of no graduate program in any journalism school in which the student, either on the master's or Ph.D. level is required to choose a behavioral-oriented thesis topic. Despite Tebbel's nagging suspicion that schools of journalism will shortly be staffed by men who know how to program an 1105 Univac computer but who couldn't pass muster as a cub reporter on a daily newspaper, a recent survey of the membership of the Association for Education in Journalism showed that 78% had five years or more of media experience.

One further point before I begin the summary of what I consider some of the more significant research studies which have been conducted under journalism school auspices. Simply that there has been, and will continue to be, research of considerable value to newspapers and other media which is conducted by the media themselves. Perhaps the greater part of such research could be termed "market research" in which the search for the nature of media audiences is continuously undertaken. Yet there are notable exceptions to this generalization. The Scripps-Howard newspapers, for example, have in recent years, under the direction of Dr. John Scott Davenport, conducted research employing the most advanced procedures of the communications scholars.[2] Nor can one overlook the research into public opinion in Minnesota which has been provided since 1944 by the Minnesota Poll, a department of the Minneapolis *Tribune*. Its experience and experimentation have served to make the methodology of 1964 substantially more sophisticated than that which was used in 1944. Where quota sampling was used at the poll's beginning, today modified probability sampling techniques are utilized to elicit more sensitive and accurate measures of attitudes.

My paper will limit itself, however, to a summary of the major contributions of those scholars who have affiliated themselves with schools or departments of journalism, and as I stated previously, will focus essentially on their quantitative studies. From its beginning issues, more than forty years ago, the *Journalism Quarterly* has concerned itself with the research that was being conducted by scholars in the various journalism faculties. A recent analysis of *all* the articles which appeared in this journal from Volume 1 (1924) through Volume 40 (1963)

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[2] For example, in December, 1960, Research, Inc. conducted simultaneous surveys in Cleveland, Memphis and Denver for the Scripps-Howard newspapers to gather information on readership attitudes toward so-called "big" news stories of the year. The study revealed substantial differences between stories ranked in the top fifteen by United Press International editors and the newspaper readers.

Table I.
JOURNALISM QUARTERLY
TRENDS IN RESEARCH ARTICLES, 1924-1963

CATEGORY	*1924-29 (Murphy)*	*1930-34 (Mott)*	*1935-39 (Casey)*	*1940-45 (Casey)*	*1945-49 (Nixon)*	*1950-54 (Nixon)*	*1955-59 (Nixon)*	*1960-63 (Nixon)*
Advertising	1	4	4	8	7	4	11	13
Audience Analysis, Readership	0	5	3	6	15	22	24	14
Communication Theory	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	17
Communicator Analysis	1	1	3	1	0	6	8	6
Community Media	2	5	3	3	4	8	4	12
Content Analysis	2	3	6	5	7	6	11	10
Economics, Business, Management	4	8	3	7	12	21	18	19
Editing, Editorials	8	4	5	7	8	10	13	14
Education for Journalism	70	33	35	32	49	47	72	39
Effect Analysis	0	0	0	2	3	5	17	22
Ethics, Criticism, Defense	8	11	7	6	8	8	4	8
Government, Freedom, Censorship	6	6	16	23	17	17	21	17
History and Biography	12	15	25	24	28	29	39	54
International Com., Foreign Press	7	25	59	31	28	51	59	58
Law in Communications	8	3	8	15	11	12	7	9
Magazines, Magazine Writing	3	1	1	6	16	5	13	16
Methodology: Research	0	1	2	7	2	8	8	12
Photo-Journalism	0	0	0	4	12	4	6	7
Press Performance	0	5	7	4	7	13	18	8
Public Opinion, Propaganda	2	1	7	10	4	12	5	7
Public Relations	0	0	1	1	1	4	5	2
Radio and Television	0	0	5	8	19	23	28	18
Readability	0	0	0	2	4	3	9	3
Reporting, News, News Writing	8	3	7	6	9	9	13	25
Typography and Make-Up	1	0	2	2	8	5	2	2
War and Press	2	2	7	22	7	5	3	2
Quantitative	12	15	12	33	59	85	131	99
Non-quantitative	192	75	117	126	136	139	132	154
Total Number of Pages	952	2,154	2,218	2,022	2,378	2,700	2,748	*2,466

* Four years only.

enables us to note the growth of *quantitative* research in journalism schools over this period.[3]

During the first decade of the magazine, the largest category (approximately one-third of the articles) dealt with problems of journalism education *per se,* followed by articles on the foreign press and history of journalism. It will be noted that not until the period of World War II is there any significant number of articles of a quantitative nature in the journal. Immediately after the War a very substantial increase occurred, and during the period 1955-59 approximately one-half of the articles in the *Journalism Quarterly* were quantitative in orientation. A subsequent decline in the period of 1960-63 may reflect the attempt of the journal's editor to satisfy the demands of his readers, including a highly vocal contingent who felt like Professor Tebbel and other opponents of what they termed "communicology."

A further breakdown of the data in Table I. would indicate that the pattern of emphasis within the area of quantitative studies published in the *Journalism Quarterly* has also changed over the past four decades.

Table II.

	1924-29	*1930-34*	*1935-39*	*1940-44*	*1945-49*	*1950-54*	*1955-59*	*1960-63*
Audience Analysis	0	5	3	6	15	22	24	14
Communication Theory	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	17
Content Analysis	2	3	6	5	7	6	11	10
Methodology Research	0	1	2	7	2	8	8	12
Readability	0	0	0	2	4	3	9	3
Effect Analysis	0	0	0	2	3	5	17	22
Communicator Analysis	1	1	3	1	0	6	8	6

Of the mere twenty-seven articles which utilized quantitative research methods prior to 1940, more than one-third consisted of content analysis studies, while the category of audience analysis constituted approximately another third. A marked contrast occurs during the period of the War and immediately thereafter, and by 1960-63 one sees the predominance of such categories as *communication theory* and *effect analysis,* both of which were unlisted before the War. The distinguished editor of the *Journalism Quarterly* from 1945 to 1964, Dr. Raymond Nixon, has summarized the trend very succinctly in stating:[4] "What seems abundantly clear is that research in journalism has come from a long period of description (down to the 1930's), through an era of emphasis upon counting and correlating (the 1930's, 1940's and early 1950's), and into the early stages of theory-building." On this base of previous research, Dr. Nixon envisions that "this could lead to the eventual emergence of journalism (or mass communications) as a professional discipline based upon both humanistic skills and solid behavioral research."

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[3] *Journalism Quarterly,* Cumulative Index, 1924-1963; special supplement to Summer Issue, 1964. Page 5.

The transition from descriptive articles to communication theory obviously came gradually, and it had to be initiated by journalism educators with considerable vision. Such a man was Ralph D. Casey, emeritus director of the School of Journalism at the University of Minnesota, and himself editor of the *Journalism Quarterly* from 1935 to 1945. As early as 1928,[5] Dr. Casey noted that social scientists were beginning to accept journalism as an independent field, not to be scoffed at. Casey called for the faculties of journalism schools to take a hand in the formulation of a graduate curriculum. He urged his colleagues in journalism education not to abdicate their research "rights" to scholars in the social sciences. One specific suggestion was to build graduate courses on a social science base. Casey called for (and then proceeded to implement his convictions in the school he directed) an enrichment of the graduate curriculum for future editors, commentators and teachers of journalism. A roster of the graduates and associates of Dr. Casey during his tenure as head of the journalism school at Minnesota constitutes a large proportion of those who bridged the chasm from descriptive to significant behavioral research in journalism, and by the time of his retirement in 1958, Casey's recommendations in the 1928 article were standard procedure at the large schools and departments of journalism throughout the country. In several other articles over the years, Dr. Casey reiterated his convictions on the necessity of research as a fundamental activity of a journalism school. Thus, in 1944,[6] he said: "To make known to the students the fundamental significance of the role of the press in our society is the *sine qua non* of any journalism teaching program." And in 1947,[7] he added: "While schools of journalism must continue to place emphasis on newswriting, editing, typography, makeup and older courses, they must enlarge the understanding of students by considering how the new communication devices are being utilized."

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[4] Raymond B. Nixon, Introduction to *Journalism Quarterly* Cumulative Index, 1964. Page 6.

[5] Ralph D. Casey, "Suggestions for a Graduate Curriculum." *Journalism Quarterly*, 4:4. Pages 21-26.

[6] Ralph D. Casey, "What Lies Ahead in Education for Journalism?" *Journalism Quarterly*, 21. Page 58.

If we accept such statements as a truism today, it should be understood that when Casey was voicing these notions from 1928 on, he was a prophet crying in the wilderness. He was among the first (and always among the most vigorous) of journalism educators to recognize that the schools must encourage, support and develop research, and that they must strive to set research standards on a level with those in the behavioral sciences and other established disciplines.

Another figure who played an important role in the development of graduate studies in journalism was Frederick S. Siebert, who for many years was director of the school of journalism at the University of Illinois, and in recent years at Michigan State University. Although his major research interests have been in the history and development of the concept of a free press, his encouragement of behavioral research (e.g., the Institute of Communication Research was founded at Illinois during his tenure as director of the school) has proved invaluable.

In his book, *The Rights and Privileges of the Press,*[8] Siebert approached the legal problems of the press with the positive viewpoint of determining the rights of the press, rather than limiting himself to the negative aspects of governmental restrictions. In one of the most noteworthy studies of the press ever published, Siebert (with Wilbur Schramm and Theodore Peterson) formulated *Four Theories of the Press,* wherein with great depth of understanding of political theory and philosophy, Siebert analyzed the authoritarian theory of the press, and its antithesis, the Libertarian theory. His major contribution to historical research of the press was *Freedom of the Press in*

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[7] Ralph D. Casey, "Teachers, Editors and the Communication Art." *Journalism Quarterly*, 24. Page 22.

[8] Frederick S. Siebert, *The Rights and Privileges of the Press*, New York, 1934; *Four Theories of the Press* (W. Schramm, T. Peterson co-authors), Urbana, 1956; *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776*, Urbana, 1953.

England, 1476-1776, a monumental study of the first three centuries of the British press.

Perhaps the most influential scholar in the transition period of journalism education from qualitative to behavioral research was Chilton R. Bush of Stanford University. As early as 1935 Bush began a systematic examination of why people read newspapers via opinion polling. In this early article,[9] he adapted a technique devised by Thurstone of judging (by a rank order method of analysis) editorial attitudes of representative American newspapers toward the Soviet regime from 1930 to 1934.

Bush concluded that it was impossible to statistically measure the subjective attitude of the editorial writer. In 1941, Bush addressed himself to the intriguing question of "no opinion" responses in opinion polling. In this study he suggested that although polls are usually valid, they are mostly successful in measuring attitudes that are "so elemental, so little conditioned by intellect, and so conspicuous that, for all practical purposes, we can say they are measurable."

But what about the negative information that polls provide, Bush asked. Polls supply data on two aspects of popular psychology which generally had not been measured, i.e., the ignorance of most voters about certain types of political issues, and the influence of propaganda relating to such issues. His conclusion, which has relevance a quarter of a century later, was that an independent body was needed to analyze the results of the polls so as to supply a constant audit of opinion, and to relate the results of propaganda factors in the environment.

The following year (1942) Bush published two more articles which provided fresh insights into the nature of who reads newspapers and why. In the first,[10] he examined the technique of determining newspaper readership by presenting a fresh copy of yesterday's newspaper for recall-recognition of all items read. Here, as in many of his other articles, Bush revealed that he was a pioneer among journalism researchers in adapting the latest techniques devised by other social scientists.

In this particular instance he proposed a stratified random sample of the readers. His conclusion, also still relevant today, is that reliability of responses to a newspaper readership-interest study is primarily dependent on the success of the field worker in establishing the appropriate setting for the interview. Next,[11] Bush addressed himself to the question of what, precisely, is a newspaper audience. Here he concluded that a newspaper audience is obviously composed of human personalities and that the main reason for preferring one newspaper over another is that the chosen paper fulfills a special need for the reader. However, people also buy for reasons entirely unrelated to preference and habit, such as convenience or for a special feature. Thus, Bush concluded in nearly every instance where a newspaper is delivered to the home it is read by all members of the family, and in such instances it is definitely regarded as a utility; but when it is bought from a newsstand it appears to be a mere diversion.

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[9] Chilton R. Bush and Jane Cook, "The Measurement of Editorial Attitudes." *Journalism Quarterly*, 12. Pages 367-373.

[10] Chilton R. Bush, "Some Notes on Techniques in Reader-Interest Surveys." *Journalism Quarterly*, 23. Pages 287-288.

In the years after World War II, Stanford University, under Dr. Bush's leadership, became one of the preeminent graduate schools conducting journalism research. Although now emeritus director of the department, Bush is currently serving the American Newspaper Publishers Association by preparing a bimonthly bulletin on journalism research. These bulletins summarize and synthesize the important current research from various sources (primarily the journalism schools) and are a valuable source for newspaper publishers and editors who need to know of these findings.

Another major figure in the development of research in journalism schools is Dr. Ralph Nafziger, who became an early leader in this course of study at the University of Minnesota in the 1930's and who, for the past fifteen years, has been director of the school at the University of Wisconsin. The noteworthy contributions of Wisconsin to the research literature reflects further that there is a high correlation between a research-sophisticated dean or director of a school and the amount and quality of research which emanates from that institution.

Nafziger's important contributions to the literature include the noted Red Wing study, in which he analyzed the effect of World War II on a daily newspaper. He found, for example, that the percentage of space devoted to news and pictures declined from seventy-one per cent in 1938-39 to sixty-three per cent in 1944, whereas the amount of space devoted to advertising increased from twenty-six to thirty-three per cent in the same period. Professor Nafziger also utilized a symbol coding technique of the strength-power, neutral, weakness-loss trichotomy and compared the number of such symbols used in 1938 and in 1943. His adaptation of content analysis procedures instituted by Dr. Harold Lasswell is an example of how journalism researchers profited from the pioneering work of social scientists who were concerned with communications problems.

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[11] Chilton R. Bush, "Notes on a New Method of Determining 'Newspaper Audience.'" *Journalism Quarterly*, 19. Pages 371-374.

In 1949, Nafziger and Marcus Wilkerson edited the first volume[12] devoted to journalism research *per se* under the auspices of the Council on Communications Research. This was an important volume in that it summarized the early studies in a field that was beginning to mature quite rapidly. Among the contributors to the book was Chilton Bush who contributed a chapter on the application of statistics to journalism research, perhaps the first such attempt to define the necessity of such tools for the journalist. Other chapters were written by Fred Siebert, Marcus Wilkerson of Louisiana State University, Earl English of the University of Missouri and Charles L. Allen of Northwestern, whose essay on the experimental method (like Bush's on statistics) suggested new vistas for the journalism researcher. Clearly, these were *tried and tested tools of the* behavioral scientists, but not for journalism scholars who for the first time utilized them to understand better the social and psychological implications of the print and electronic media.

Nafziger, then, as well as Bush, was the major innovator in the study of the reading audience among journalism school educators. Yet, as late as 1947[13] Nafziger could point out, as he did at a conference at the University of Illinois, that newspaper readership studies failed to take into consideration what effect the editors who selected the items or determined the prominence with which they should be displayed, etc., might have had on the readership scores. Nafziger urged that future readership studies employ further breakdowns, relating readership to ethnic back-

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[12] Ralph O. Nafziger and Marcus Wilkerson (eds.), *Introduction to Journalism Research*. Baton Rouge, 1949.

[13] Ralph O. Nafziger, "The Reading Audience" in Wilbur Schramm (ed.), *Communications and Society*. Urbana, 1948. Pages 114-118.

grounds, social and political attitudes, individual and group differences and other elements in the socio-economic composition of newspaper readers. He also posed a problem which to this day, nearly two decades later, has received negligible attention, i.e., that newspaper readership surveys do not explain what in the individual reader is related to his choice of newspaper content categories. In short, what is the effect (on the reader) of exposure to these categories, or the meaning to various segments of the population of items dealing with social or economic events or official actions of governments? Nafziger concluded that we know little in this age of atomic energy of the means for informing the newspaper reading public effectively of the necessities it faces in merely struggling for survival. His observation, unfortunately, still holds true. Study after study reveals that only a small percentage of readers, listeners or viewers is cognizant of the important details of the events which surround their lives and affect them individually and as a group or even a nation. Such problems as education, whether on the community, state or national level, are read about in newspapers by a minority of respondents, albeit frequently a highly vocal minority.

In 1945, Dr. Raymond B. Nixon, then of Emory University but shortly thereafter at Minnesota, became editor of the *Journalism Quarterly*. Under his editorship for the next two decades the *Journalism Quarterly* became the prime agency in the promulgation and encouragement of behavioral-based research conducted in the schools of journalism. To be sure, Nixon assumed the editorship right at the end of World War II when journalism research was beginning to reach out and utilize the techniques and insights of the social sciences. But in this case it was more than an editor who happened to be around when the time was ripe for rapid advances in a discipline. He perceived the necessity of a journal that would be devoted essentially to research in journalism and mass communication rather than value-laden essays about diverse aspects of the press. Under his editorial guidance there were more than ten times the number of articles of a quantitative nature than had been published in the twenty years prior to his editorship.

Nixon's contribution to journalism research, beyond his brilliant editorship of the *Journalism Quarterly*, was concerned with changing trends over the years in newspaper ownership. One such study dealt with the content of competitive versus noncompetitive newspapers. Through analysis of ninety-seven newspapers, Nixon substantiated his original hypothesis that there are no significant differences between competitive and noncompetitive newspapers in terms of their content.

In recent years Dr. Nixon has been closely affiliated with efforts to bring journalism researchers of several countries together. He was elected the first president of the International Mass Communications Research Association, an organization in whose formation he played a leading role.

The impact of Dr. Wilbur Schramm upon the field of journalism research is so substantial that even a mere summary of his achievements[14] would entail much of the remainder of this paper. Originally a professor of American literature in the 1930's, Schramm became director of the school of journalism at the University of Iowa during the war years, subsequently formed the Institute of Communications Research at Illinois, and for the past decade has been director of a similar institute at Stanford.

Schramm has not only been the most prolific writer in the field of communications research among journalism educators, but he has attracted a large proportion of the younger scholars whose work we shall cite later. Schramm has stated that the communication research interests of journalism are "actually somewhat broader than those of the other behavioral sciences, for whereas communication research is a small part of psychology, economics, anthropology, law, sociology or political science, it is the main part of journalism research." Schramm, however, feels that an attempt to state that journalism research *per se* is different from communications research *per se* is meaningless. But journalism scholars, he emphasizes, have a primary obligation "to explore *mass* communication, a responsibility which is shared only in small part by the political scientist, economist or institutional sociologist." By studying Schramm's numerous articles, monographs and books written over the past twenty years, it becomes clear that he has approached the subject from three major approaches, which he describes.[15]

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[14] Dr. Schramm's contributions encompass virtually every aspect of communications research as it has developed since World War II. Among his books are *Mass Communications*, Urbana, 1960; *Process and Effects of Mass Communication*, Urbana, 1955; *The Science of Human Communication*, New York, 1963; and *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, New York, 1957.

> Journalism has a particular obligation for studying:
>
> 1. Mass communication as a social institution — its organization, its social control, its place in social structure and function, its content, its audiences, its responsibilities and performance.
> 2. The conditions of its effectiveness — the choice of channels, the nature of messages, the self-selection of the audiences, the nature of attention, the problem of transmitting meaning, the relation of group structure and predispositions to effect.
> 3. The nature and evidence of effects — what mass communication does to the individual life and what it contributes to social change or lack of change.

I have tried to show, thus far, that journalism research as a discipline employing techniques which had been conceptualized and tested by behavioral scientists grew slowly until World War II, then burgeoned quickly into an active force within the schools. The men whose work I have thus far cited played a double role in this transformation: (1) they themselves participated in some of the pioneer studies in the new approach to journalism research, and (2) because of their interest and understanding of the role of communication research they attracted to their respective schools a post-war group of graduate students who would form a cadre of research activity in the respective schools.

For example, Charles E. Swanson, an early post-war associate of Schramm, was one of the first Ph.D.'s in Mass Communication from a school of journalism. Swanson's major contribution to journalism research was the noted "Mid-City" series of three articles, drawn from his doctoral research.[16] In this study of a "monopoly" daily in an unnamed Midwestern city, he examined the social characteristics of the editing-writing group, their values and appraisal of the newspaper, and their relative control over the power to print. Swanson found that control of local news rested primarily with the newspaper's news staff, but that the staff agreed it shared control with the newspaper's executives, the city's residents, businessmen and advertisers. He then studied the values of a sample of 373 Mid-city adults and found them to be in substantial agreement with the newspaper staff as to what the general outlines of the newspaper should be. The implications of Swanson's Midcity series suggest a number of questions which should be pursued, e.g., how can a newspaper report to a group the news which "opposes" a group's interests and yet obtain that group's understanding of the information, not to mention its confidence and its continued support? How, for example, does one "inform" a member of an extreme rightist group in this country that Chief Justice Warren is not a subversive agent in league with the United Nations in a plot to fluoridate all the drinking water in the country? Swanson's and subsequent studies have shown conclusively that the "closed mind" type of personality reduces the dissonances of *factual* versus *emotional* messages by blocking himself from perceiving the message which goes against his grain.

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[15] Wilbur Schramm, "The Challenge to Communication Research" in R. O. Nafziger and David M. White (eds.), *Introduction to Mass Communications Research*. Baton Rouge, 1963. Pages 5-6.

[16] Charles E. Swanson, "Mid-City Daily: The News Staff and its Relation to Control." *Journalism Quarterly*, 26. Pages 20-28. See also pages 172-180 and pages 304-310.

Swanson tested this notion again in a study[17] of the effects of the media in relation to a speech made by President Truman. Through observation, content analysis, surveys of audience samples, and intensive studies of individuals, Swanson and his then graduate assistant, Robert L. Jones, found that the way in which each individual related ideas to his own needs and values had more effect upon recall than repetition of a theme by either the speaker or the media. For several years Swanson served as director of research at the school of journalism at the University of Minnesota, and subsequently he was affiliated with the Curtis Publishing Company.

Another outstanding post-war journalism researcher is Dr. Percy Tannenbaum, who took his graduate work at Illinois' Institute of Communication Research under Schramm and the current director of the Institute, Dr. Charles Osgood, the noted psychologist. Tannenbaum was a co-author with Osgood in the germinal volume, *The Measurement of Meaning.*[18] From the work of Osgood and Tannenbaum has come one of the most valuable research tools in communications, the semantic differential scale, a measuring device which Tannenbaum has utilized to point up differences among individuals with regard to connotative meaning.

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[17] Charles E. Swanson, Robert L. Jones, and James Jenkins, "President Truman Speaks: A Study of Who Believes What." *Journalism Quarterly*, 28. Pages 39-48. See also 27, pages 251-262.

[18] Charles Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, *The Measurement of Meaning*. Urbana, 1957.

In fourteen articles published in the *Journalism Quarterly* over the past decade, Tannenbaum's focus has been on the *effects* of a communicated message. He is concerned with the independent variables which may enter the communication process and distort the message as it is transmitted from the encoder-communicator to his decoder-receiver.

In any study of the communication process, the possibility of unexpected factors intervening between the encoder and the decoder to distort the message must always be kept in mind. Tannenbaum has devoted several of his studies to this problem, including one which deals with the communication of connotation in nonverbal photographic messages, and another study which described the effect of different kinds of type upon the connotation attached by the individual to a message.

In most of these studies, Tannenbaum has used the semantic differential technique, as in an examination of the attitudes held by the community towards the concepts involved in certain congressional hearings which were televised.[19] In another instance,[20] the semantic differential was employed to determine the effect of the point at which the byline of an article was perceived upon the direction of attitude change regarding the topic of the article.

In another important study, Tannenbaum analyzed the effect of newspaper headlines and newscast leads on the individual's perception of the item to follow.[21] He showed that headlines — either purposely or accidentally — may be biased, since they must perforce select only one aspect of the story. Moreover, if a story has follow-ups, each with biased headlines, not only are opinions initiated but repeatedly reinforced. Currently, in addition to serving as professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin, Tannenbaum is also director of its Mass Communications Research Center, where he has trained a number of very able "third generation" journalism researchers.

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[19] Percy H. Tannenbaum, "What Effect when TV Covers a Congressional Hearing?" *Journalism Quarterly*, 32. Pages 434-440.

[20] Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Effects of Bylines on Attitude Change." *Journalism Quarterly*, 38. Pages 535-537.

[21] Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Effect of Headlines on the Interpretation of News Stories." *Journalism Quarterly*, 30. Pages 189-197.

One of the most brilliant of the post-war journalism doctoral students was Dr. Paul J. Deutschmann, who was trained at Stanford, under Bush and Schramm, and served as director of the Communications Research Center at Michigan State University until his untimely death at the age of forty-five. In 1960 he published (with Wayne Danielson) a study[22] in the diffusion of information which revealed some important data.

Taking a story such as President Eisenhower's stroke in November, 1957, in which the event was given "bulletin treatment" on both television and radio and subsequently covered on the front page of the morning and evening newspapers, the study revealed: (1) complete diffusion is spread over one or two days; (2) those who were uninformed were less educated and unskilled; (3) women tended to be informed by radio and television, while men got the news fact-to-face and through newspapers. Most importantly, however, this study revealed another dimension of the well-known "two-step flow of news" process which Katz and Lazarsfeld had hypothesized. Deutschmann found that the two-step flow does not enter into the diffusion of news of important events. Rather, the initial knowledge of the event goes directly from the mass media to the people, and the relay of the news by opinion leaders is apparently supplemental and reinforces previous knowledge.

Deutschmann conducted a large investigation of the effects of the mass media in Latin America,[23] focusing on how both literate and non-literate inhabitants in an underdeveloped village are affected by the mass media. He learned, for example, that diffusion takes place in the household *per se*, and thus it is here, rather than within the individual, that the impact of the mass media is felt. The study reiterated previous research findings that non-literate tools, such as radios and movies, are managing to by-pass many villages' inability to read and are effective in the communication process.

I have cited the work of Swanson, Tannenbaum and Deutschmann at some length because they represent, to my mind, excellent examples of the post-war journalism researcher. Trained under the first generation of scholars who had made the basic applications in the new discipline, men such as Deutschmann and Tannenbaum were among the first to earn the Ph.D. in Mass Communications. For it was only after the War that such a degree was offered, first at the University of Iowa, subsequently at Illinois and Stanford, and today in about ten institutions.

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[22] Paul J. Deutschmann and Wayne A. Danielson, "A Diffusion of Knowledge of the Major News Story." *Journalism Quarterly*, 37. Pages 345-355.

[23] Paul J. Deutschmann, "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village." *Journalism Quarterly*, 40. Pages 27-36.

This is not to suggest that either Swanson or Tannenbaum is unique, eminent as they may be in their contributions to the developing science of communications. Space does not permit me to go into an elaborate summary of a substantial number of equally noteworthy scholars who subsequently were trained in the graduate divisions of journalism schools. However, it is necessary that they, at least, be introduced with a brief description of some of their representative research contributions. The most expedient way of accomplishing this is to cite them under the universities at which they studied, or with which they are now affiliated.

At the University of Minnesota, for example, Dr. Robert L. Jones is director of the school and Dr. Roy Carter is director of the research division. Carter's predecessors in that position were Ralph Nafziger, Charles Swanson, and Dr. Jones himself. Among Jones' important studies is one[24] which is concerned with the "gatekeeping" aspects of telegraph (or "wire") editors with respect to state news. Jones also was one of the first journalism researchers to utilize computers for tabulating and analysis of data.

Dr. Roy Carter, a Stanford Ph.D. under Schramm, Bush, et al., was the first research director at the University of North Carolina's journalism school, prior to taking the same position at Minnesota in 1959. Several of his studies have been concerned with attitudes governing the interaction between newspapers and certain sections of the reading public. In one fascinating study, Carter tested the notion that proximity is a leading factor in influencing newspaper readers' interest.[25] The results of this study indicated that subjects perceived cities in their own region as being closer than they actually were. Carter has written widely on survey research methodology,[26] and in a recent study[27] reported on suburban readers of a newspaper. According to this study, audience involvement and not message content of the news is the prime reason for reader interest in suburban happenings.

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[24] Robert L. Jones, Verling C. Trohldahl, and J. K. Hvistendahl, "News Selection Patterns from a State TTS-Wire." *Journalism Quarterly,* 38. Pages 303-312.

[25] Roy E. Carter, "Racial Identification Effects Upon the News." *Journalism Quarterly,* 36. Pages 284-290.

Also on the faculty at the school of journalism at the University of Minnesota are Dr. J. Edward Gerald, Dr. Edwin Emery, and Dr. Raymond B. Nixon, whose work we have already cited. Professor Gerald has specialized in the economic aspects of the press[28] and has also written extensively on the relationship between the federal government and the press. Dr. Emery is a noted historian of the American Newspapers Publishers Association. In September, 1964, he became the editor of the *Journalism Quarterly;* in this position he will play a major role in the encouragement of journalism research in the various schools.

At the University of Wisconsin, besides Drs. Nafziger and Tannenbaum, there are also Professor Bruce Westley and Dr. Charles Higbie, each of whom has contributed widely to journalism research. Professor Westley's best-known single article, perhaps, was his "Conceptual Model for Communications Research"[29] written in collaboration with Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, Jr. This model has been widely used by communications scholars because it is general enough to deal with all types of human communication ranging from interpersonal fact-to-face interaction to international and intercultural communications. If the model *per se* does not add up to a specific theory, it is a major step in the eventual construction of such a theory.

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[26] Roy E. Carter, "Field Methods in Communications" in R. O. Nafziger and D. M. White (eds.), *Introduction to Mass Communications Research*. Baton Rouge, 1963. Pages 78-128.

[27] Roy E. Carter and Peter Clarke, "Suburbanites, City Residents and Local News." *Journalism Quarterly*, 40. Pages 548-559.

[28] Edward J. Gerald, "Economic Research and the Mass Media." *Journalism Quarterly*, 35. Pages 49-55. Also *Journalism Quarterly*, 29. Pages 385-395. See also Professor Gerald's two excellent volumes, *The Press and the Constitution*. Minneapolis, 1948, and *The Social Responsibilities of the Press*. Minneapolis, 1963.

[29] Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean, "A Conceptual Model for Communications Research." *Journalism Quarterly*, 34. Pages 31-38.

In another provocative study,[30] Westley analyzed the non-reader of a newspaper, i.e., the small minority who do not conform to one of the most thoroughly institutionalized behaviors of Americans – reading a daily newspaper. He has also investigated[31] why people who assign greatest preference to a certain medium (e.g., television) do not necessarily assign it greatest credibility. In a major essay,[32] Westley discussed journalism research and scientific method via the introduction of what he termed the "hypothetico-deductive-empiricism" synthesis. He proposes, with some justification, that journalism research be based on a scientific method which submits hypothetical propositions to the test of reality after deriving them deductively from general theory.

Dr. Charles E. Higbie, trained as a political scientist at the London School of Economics, has contributed a number of valuable studies[33] in the political aspects of journalism research. Recently with Professor Westley he completed a major study.[34] Westley and Higbie used a technique called Evaluation Assertion Analysis on a political topic – the candidates for the 1960 presidential nominations and the respective biases of *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *U. S. News* towards them. By limiting the number of magazines, candidates and stories, the authors were able to streamline the Evaluation Assertion Analysis method. The application of the techniques they utilized to a topic, such as coverage of news about education, is feasible and should be pursued.

Finally, at Wisconsin, as in several of the other major institutions specializing in journalism research, we see the "third generation" of researchers joining the staff and making their contributions to the journals. At Madison they reflect the ideological and methodological interests of professors like Tannenbaum and Westley. Dr. Jack McLeod, another associate of Tannenbaum, is a fine representative of this "third generation." In a recent issue of the *Journalism Quarterly,* McLeod describes a method for indexing "professional orientation" of newsmen.[35] He learned that the newsmen with higher professional orientation showed a general tendency to seek implementation of professional values and tended to hold a more critical attitude toward their paper than other groups. Two other young journalism researchers on the Wisconsin staff should also be noted, James A. Fosdick and Eleanor L. Norris.

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[30] Bruce Westley and W. J. Severin, "A Profile of the Daily Newspaper Non-Reader." *Journalism Quarterly*, 41. Pages 45-50.

[31] Bruce Westley and W. J. Severin, "Some Correlates of Mass Credibility." *Journalism Quarterly*, 41. Pages 325-335.

[32] Bruce H. Westley, "Scientific Method and Communication Research" in R. O. Nafziger and D. M. White (eds.), *Introduction to Mass Communications Research*. Baton Rouge, 1963. Pages 238-276.

[33] Charles E. Higbie, "1960 Election Studies Show Broad Approach, New Methods." *Journalism Quarterly*, 38. Pages 164-170. See also 28. Pages 264-277.

[34] Bruce Westley, Charles Higbie, et al, "The News Magazines and the 1960 Conventions." *Journalism Quarterly*, 40. Pages 523-531.

Stanford University's work in journalism research, with the pioneering efforts of Chilton Bush and the subsequent formation of an Institute for Communications Research under Wilbur Schramm, has a number of important scholars on its staff. Dr. James E. Brinton[36] was a close collaborator of Bush in the immediate post-war years. One of their major efforts[37] was to devise a survey research method of ascertaining how the people in a community feel about the newspaper which they read.

Dr. Edwin B. Parker, also of Stanford, was a co-author with Schramm and Jack Lyle (now of U.C.L.A.) of one of the most valuable books[38] on the effects of television, *Television in the Lives of our Children.* This book represented the first major study of children and their uses of the mass media to be made on the North American continent. The only comparable full-length study which had been made previously was the English study, *Television and the Child* by Himmelweit, Oppenheim and Vince. Parker and his two co-authors, drawing upon their extensive research[39] over a period of three years, also described "Patterns in Children's Reading of Newspapers." Their findings show that the newspaper is the last of the media to come into real use by children. Comic reading, with which children are first introduced to the newspaper, comes to its height around the fourth grade and then decreases. There is little general reading until the eighth grade, but during the teen years the newspaper appears to be read more and valued much more highly, especially by the brighter children.

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[35] Jack M. McLeod and Searle E. Hawley, "Professionalization among Newsmen." *Journalism Quarterly,* 41. Pages 529-539.

[36] Dr. Brinton becomes Dean of the College of Journalism at the University of Colorado in September, 1965.

[37] See also James Brinton and Norman L. McKown, "Effects of Newspaper Reading in Knowledge and Attitude." *Journalism Quarterly,* 38. Pages 187-195.

[38] W. Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, *Television in the Lives of our Children.* Stanford, 1961.

[39] W. Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, "Patterns in Children's Reading of Newspapers." *Journalism Quarterly,* 37. Pages 35-40.

Another Stanford journalism researcher is Dr. Richard F. Carter, who completed his graduate work at Wisconsin. In one of his studies,[40] Carter analyzed the structure of controversial news stories, seeking to find out the effects of several alternative methods of structuring controversial news story elements. He hypothesized that (1) there is an effect on the comprehension of story elements as a consequence of the order of presentation for two sides of a controversial issue, and (2) there is an effect on the comprehension of issues as a consequence of their congruent position with names associated with them in the controversial news story. It would be valuable to see this study replicated with controversial stories about new curricula in school systems, etc.

At the University of California at Los Angeles are Drs. Jack Lyle and Walter Wilcox. Lyle took his graduate work at Stanford and worked with Schramm and Parker on the television studies cited above. In 1962, working independently, Lyle made a secondary analysis[41] of the study of children's reading patterns to determine whether or not the selection of content within the newspaper might discriminate between various typologies. By dividing readership into three categories, entertainment, hard news, and general readership, Lyle distinguished between immediate and delayed reward for adolescent users of newspapers. A valuable adaptation of Osgood's semantic differential was suggested in an earlier article[42] by Lyle. His stated purpose was to construct an instrument to measure reader attitudes toward newspapers. It purports to serve as a valid substitute for the longer and more time-consuming Stanford Test which had been developed by Brinton, Bush and Newell. By using the semantic differential, a publisher could obtain a general picture of the public's attitude toward his newspaper, the attitudinal areas in which his paper was strong or weak, and the critical problems of the newspaper-reader relationship.

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[40] Richard F. Carter, "Writing Controversial Stories for Comprehension." *Journalism Quarterly*, 32. Pages 319-328.

[41] Jack Lyle, "Immediate versus Delayed Reward Use of Newspapers by Adolescents." *Journalism Quarterly*, 39. Pages 83-85.

[42] Jack Lyle, "Semantic Differential Scales for Newspaper Research." *Journalism Quarterly*, 37. Pages 559-562.

Dr. Wilcox is chairman of the department of journalism at U.C.L.A. In a revealing study[43] of the radical right press, Wilcox determined that it responds to analysis in terms of its (1) preoccupation with a vast, unreal conspiracy; (2) non-rationality; (3) an evil-good dichotomy; (4) a constructive-destructive approach. He carefully distinguishes between the radical right press and the ultra-conservative and conservative press which do not respond to the above categories to the same extent.

Another noted researcher, Dr. Malcom S. MacLean, currently holds the George Gallup Chair in Quantitative Research at the University of Iowa's School of Journalism. Starting his teaching career at the University of Wisconsin, where he collaborated frequently with Westley, MacLean had spent the past ten years at Michigan State until accepting the Chair at Iowa at the beginning of the 1964-65 academic year. MacLean was one of the first journalism school researchers to apply the statistical measurement of factor analysis to a media-based study. In a study[44] of women's interest in pictures, MacLean and William Hazard (now of the University of Texas) selected fifty-one pictures on a wide variety of subjects, then asked 152 men and 152 women to rate each picture by degree of interest. After the picture-to-picture inter-correlations of interest were calculated, these variations were factor analyzed. If we consider that the first utilization of simple analysis of variance had appeared in the *Journalism Quarterly*[45] only in 1944, the MacLean-Hazard usage of factor analysis in 1953 suggested another substantial advance in methodological sophistication by the journalism researchers. Today, among many of the post-war trained journalism researchers, whom I have designated as the "second generation," and certain among all of the current Ph.D. aspirants in mass communications, tools such as factor analysis and even more complex statistical measures are *sine qua non:* a dozen years ago when MacLean and Hazard used it for the first time they were at the frontier.

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[43] Walter Wilcox, "The Press of the Radical Right: An Exploratory Analysis." *Journalism Quarterly*, 39. Pages 152-160.

[44] Malcolm S. MacLean and William R. Hazard, "Women's Interest in Pictures: The Badger Village Study." *Journalism Quarterly*, 30. Pages 139-162.

[45] Earl English, "A Study of Readability of Four Newspaper Headline Types." *Journalism Quarterly*, 21. Pages 217-229.

Michigan State, under Deutschmann and MacLean, attracted a number of very able young scholars, including Thomas Danbury, John T. McNelly and Verling Troldahl (a protege of Minnesota's Roy Carter). Recently, this group has been joined by Dr. Bradley Greenberg (a Wisconsin Ph.D. under Tannenbaum) who took post-doctoral training at Stanford, under Schramm and his associates.

Greenberg, along with Deutschmann and North Carolina's Wayne Danielson, has studied the phenomenon of how news events are diffused to the public. In a recent study,[46] Greenberg examined the role of person-to-person communication in the diffusion of news. He learned that although the mass media were the most pervasive *first* source of information, interpersonal communication is most active *as a first source* in the diffusion of events attended to by nearly everyone or by nearly no one. However, when a news event is of near-epic or crisis proportion, as in the assassination of John F. Kennedy, person-to-person channels of communication are as strong as the mass media in spreading the first information.

In his doctoral dissertation,[47] under the direction of Tannenbaum, Greenberg studied the performance of a communicator under "cognitive stress." He ascertained that when a writer is given information which attacks his beliefs and thus puts him under stress, it takes him longer to write his message, he makes more grammatical and spelling errors and the message is less readable.

In the far west at the University of Washington, behavioral research is conducted by the director of the school of journalism, Merrill Sammelson, and by Drs. Alex Edelstein and Peter Clarke, while Dr. Henry Ladd Smith and Dr. William Ames are prolific scholars in the area of historical studies. Dr. Edelstein, with strong training in sociology, has contributed numerous studies[48] which examine the role of the newspaperman in the context of the community and weekly press.

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[46] Bradley S. Greenberg, "Person-to-Person Communication in the Diffusion of News Events." *Journalism Quarterly*, 41. Pages 489-494.

[47] Bradley S. Greenberg and Percy H. Tannenbaum, "Communicator Performance under Cognitive Stress." *Journalism Quarterly*, 39. Pages 169-178.

North Carolina's school of journalism has become a regional leader in communications research, with its Dean, Wayne A. Danielson, Dr. John B. Adams and Dr. James J. Mullen active in many facets of research. Among Dr. Danielson's numerous published studies was a content analysis of ninety daily newspapers which showed that a paper's coverage of the 1960 presidential election campaign was dependent on the extent of its news facilities, staff and "weekday news hole." Utilizing the facilities of a very extensive Univac computer system at North Carolina, Danielson has explored the utility of computers in solving communications research problems. In a 1963 study he discussed the codification of the Farr-Jenkins-Patterson readability formula and the McCall-Crabbs Standard Test Lessons in Reading into programs adaptable to computers.

The interest in behavioral research at journalism schools continues to spread among many institutions which even ten years ago were only peripherally concerned with it, if at all. Thus we find such excellent researchers as Guido Stempel III at Central Michigan University, Eugene J. Webb at Northwestern, Edgar Crane at Notre Dame, Robert M. Pockrass at Pennsylvania State University, Earle Barcus at Boston University and William Hazard at Texas. Young scholars of the "third generation" like Ivan Preston at Pennsylvania State and Mervin D. Lynch (yet another protegé of Tannenbaum at Wisconsin) now at Missouri, and many others who are beginning to make significant contributions are joining journalism schools from Florida to South Dakota and from Arizona to Rhode Island.

Three major figures in current journalism research have been "held" until this point, perhaps because their work may have special relevance for the purposes of this conference. They are Dean George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Journalism at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. William Stephenson of the University of Missouri, and Dr. Walter Gieber of San Francisco State University.

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[48] Alex S. Edelstein and Otto N. Larsen, "The Weekly Press' Contribution to a Sense of Urban Community." *Journalism Quarterly*, 37. Pages 489-498. Alex S. Edelstein and Blaine J. Schulz, "The Weekly Newspaper's Leadership Role as seen by Community Leaders." *Journalism Quarterly*, 40, Pages 567-574.

Dean Gerbner, as deeply as any scholar working in this field, has addressed himself to the relationship between education and mass communication. His essays "Technology, Communication and Education: A Social Perspective"[49] and "Education and the Challenge of Mass Culture"[50] are basic reading for an understanding of the implications of this conference. Dr. Gerbner has also written widely in the area of content analysis,[51] and in cross-cultural aspects of communication.[52]

Dr. William Stephenson of the noted journalism school at Missouri developed the significant Q-methodology in factor analysis.[53] A discussion of his major contributions is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is this writer's opinion that twenty or thirty years from now he will be studied as one of the great innovators in the field.

Finally, let us consider the contributions of Dr. Walter Gieber of San Francisco State College. A graduate student of Nafziger at Wisconsin, Gieber is one of the most imaginative of the post-war researchers. With a solid understanding of the social forces at play in our culture, Gieber has focused on the role of newsmen in the day-by-day process of journalism. By examining the "gatekeeper" in the communication process, Gieber has extended a major theoretical concept first discussed by Kurt Lewin and adapted to journalism research by White.[54] A study of sixteen telegraph editors[55] revealed that the wire editor is virtually in a "strait jacket" of mechanical details. It appears that his most important job is to get copy into the newspaper, rather than being concerned with the social arena where news is made and given meaning. Gieber concluded that as a "gatekeeper" the wire editor is essentially passive, holding news values that are elementary and broadly structured.

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[49] George Gerbner, "Technology, Communication and Education: A Social Perspective," in *Tomorrow's Teaching*. Oklahoma City: Frontiers of Science Foundation, 1962.

[50] George Gerbner, "Education and the Challenge of Mass Culture." *Audio-Visual Communication Review*, 7. Pages 264-278.

[51] George Gerbner, "On Content Analysis and Critical Research in Mass Communication." *Audio-Visual Communication Review*, 6. Pages 85-105.

[52] George Gerbner, "Press Perspectives in World Communication." *Journalism Quarterly*, 38. Pages 313-322.

[53] William Stephenson, "Principles of Selection of News Pictures." *Journalism Quarterly*, 37. Pages 61-68.

[54] David M. White, "The 'Gate Keeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News." *Journalism Quarterly*, 27. Pages 383-390.

[55] Walter Gieber, "Across the Desk: A study of 16 Telegraph Editors." *Journalism Quarterly*, 33. Pages 423-432.

Another major study by Gieber should also be perused by scholars working in the area of school public relations.[56] In examining how news stories about civil liberties activities were presented by the local "gatekeepers," Gieber analyzed what role both *sources* and *reporters* play in the gathering and dissemination of civil liberties news. The difference in perception between the *sources* and the *reporters* (of what the news ought to be) showed that the *sources* thought such news should be connotative, whereas *reporters* interpreted the news as denotative.

Pursuing this line of thought, Gieber in a later study[57] of source-reporter relationships saw the source and the reporter as members of different social systems, who try to communicate to mass audiences according to their different roles. As in the civil liberties study, attempts are made by the sources to "assimilate" the reporters to portray the source's point of view. This allows three possible relationships: (1) the source and the reporter remain separate with dissimilar views (2) the sources and the reporters, although in separate roles, agree on the communication role and perception of that role, and (3) the sources assimilate the reporters, or vice versa, making one frame of reference. In this particular study of the reporting of city hall news, the reporters were largely assimilated by the sources, thus making the press a virtual appendage of local city government.

In the previous pages I have attempted to summarize some of the main currents in communications research as it is being practiced in the schools of journalism in this country. Research does not exist in a vacuum, but rather in the minds and activities of scholars who have an interest and aptitude for pursuing media-based problems. I have tried to introduce the reader to a majority of these scholars and briefly cite examples of their work which seem, to me, to be relevant to the aims of this conference. It is patently evident that space has not permitted me to list every journalism researcher. But I believe that virtually every faculty member of a journalism school who has utilized a behavioral approach to communications research is accounted for.

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[56] Walter Gieber, "How the 'Gate Keepers' View Local Civil Liberties News." *Journalism Quarterly*, 37. Pages 199-205.

[57] Walter Gieber and W. Johnson, "The City-Hall 'Beat': A Study of Reporter and Source Roles." *Journalism Quarterly*, 38. Pages 289-297.

Now, having provided this roster of journalism researchers in the context of their contributions and interests, let us discuss briefly the direction in which journalism research seems to be moving, or perhaps should move.

In 1948 Wilbur Schramm invited a group of communications research men to his newly-founded Institute of Communications Research. The questions which were posed in their three days of talking together were basic queries, and Schramm put them in his characteristically clear way:[58]

> What culture and value patterns are being presented by the media to the audiences who give them one-fifth of their waking hours? What heroes are they holding up to their audiences, and what myths are they contributing to the national tradition? How do the media differ by nature, and what jobs can be done better on one than another? Why does the audience select what it does from the media? What factors in personality, experience, and status cause a given person to choose as he does? What is mass communication doing to society? What changes, if any, is it making in community value patterns?

In the seventeen years since Schramm asked these questions, journalism researchers, as well as sociologists, psychologists and other behavioral scientists have endeavored to answer them. Some of the questions can be answered fairly completely, although the answer sufficient for today may not hold true five, ten or fifteen years from now.

Some of the other questions can only be answered in tentative terms at best, because the evidence is hard to come by. Physics may provide a Bernoulli's law, chemistry a Boyle's law, or sociology an Ogburn to define "cultural lag," but the "laws" of communication behavior are *still,* for the most part, in the formulation stage.

Elsewhere, I have stated that the time is due, or over-due for that matter, for a large scale study of the effects of mass communication upon a community, comparable to W. Lloyd Warner's noted *Yankee City* investigations.[59] For the past twenty years, communications researchers in journalism schools have been primarily concerned with developing the necessary tools for their research. In some cases they merely adapted tools that had been used for some time previously by behavioral scientists. But these adaptations were necessary before the journalism school researchers could meaningfully begin to answer any of the questions which Schramm listed above.

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[58] Wilbur Schramm, *Communications and Society.* Urbana, 1948. Pages 3-5.

[59] David M. White, *People, Society and Mass Communications.* Edited by L. A. Dexter and D. M. White. New York, 1964. Page 575.

Unfortunately, we have been so concerned with developing the techniques, and then replicating the same kind of fragmentary research which might substantiate the early, tentative hypotheses, that the field of mass communications research today is frequently an enigma. That is precisely why I feel the time is overdue for one of the large foundations to underwrite a grand study of a community and the people who constitute it in terms of what mass communications does to it and them.

Such a study, I envision, should be projected over at least a twenty-year period, and it should call upon the resources of researchers in all branches of the behavioral sciences concerned with this problem. There are, sorry to say, many academic communities in this country where the psychologists don't talk to the sociologists, and where perhaps the only thing these two groups can agree upon is that the journalism researcher, a hybrid chap to be sure, is less than couth. But we need to be humble enough in our intellectual pretensions to realize that unlike the six blind men who each thought that he alone understands the elephant, the whole problem may be greater than the sum of its parts. It will be necessary to assemble a "team" of highly competent scholars from several social sciences, each of whom would be more concerned with finding the answer to basic questions than with differences of approach between their respective fields.

Thus, it would be the task of the demographers to ascertain which town or city would be best suited for such a study. Obviously, it would have to be a community which enabled each of its respondents wide choice of the various agencies of mass communications. By utilizing a panel-type interviewing schedule, first developed by Lazarsfeld and his associates, as well as other measures, a representative sample of our communications "Middletown" could be projected, wherein the same individuals were studied from their preschool days until twenty years later when they have completed college or have otherwise become adults in the community.

I concede that the design for this type of study would present formidable difficulties, and that more than $1,000,000 would probably be needed to underwrite a project of this dimension. Nevertheless, such a bold enterprise is clearly in order.

My point is that we have little to gain by replicating laboratory-type experiments in our college halls with paid student experimentees. We have formulated and developed the hypotheses, and accepted them or rejected them with our sophisticated tests of significance. But we need to test them, not only under actual conditions but over a substantial period of time.

We have come to understand that the mass media are essentially *interposers* between the individual in a mass society and and the major institutional forces — school, church, family — in which he functions. Some individuals within the community extract from the mass media only the material that enables them to conform to the institutional norms. But others may search for and find with the same mass media that which enables them to organize a substantially different perspective of their community and its institutions. Therefore, I firmly believe that by utilizing a case-study approach to a satisfactory sample of individuals in a test community over a period of at least two decades, we could finally begin to determine the role of the mass media in their true perspective.

If and when we finally do get down to such a task as this, it will be because in the past twenty years or so, communications researchers, among which the journalism school researchers play a substantial role, have given us the necessary tools.

CHAPTER 3

Psychological Studies of Communication and Persuasion

DANIEL KATZ

Almost twenty years ago Herbert Hyman and Paul Sheatsley (1947) called attention to the weakness in the assumption that there is a direct correlation between the flow of information and the absorption of knowledge and the amount of attitude change. The evidence they presented indicated (1) that people seek information congenial to the attitudes they already hold, (2) people interpret the same information differently, and (3) information does not necessarily change attitudes. In spite of the reasonableness of the Hyman-Sheatsley position we still rely heavily upon increasing the flow of information as a solution to many problems. Inadequate communication is seen as the source of some of our difficulties. Campaigns to acquaint the public with issues, public relations activities to create a better image, the attempts to saturate the electorate with their side of the story of political parties during a campaign, are all well known examples of the doctrines of the desirability of an increased flow of information. Within large-scale organizations, too, we find enthusiastic support for more communication down the line and more communication up the line, though the former receives more attention than the latter.

Now, there are good outcomes of this approach, and other things being equal there is a good deal to be said for stepping up the information available to people. But so often, other things are not equal and hence there can be weak, negligible, and even negative outcomes. Essentially, the critical point is that publics, organizations, groups, and individuals all have coding systems of their own which select out messages and modify them according to these codes. Any organized structure, whether a formal organization or an individual, is not completely open to all inputs from its environment. If it did not code inputs it would have no boundaries of its own and would not be an organized structure. At the level of the social system, an organized state of affairs implies the restriction of information both to its members and among its members. In an unorganized group, say sixty people milling around a room, the number of potential channels of communication is $\frac{n(n-1)}{2}$ or 1,770. If these people are organized into a productive team with five interdependent roles the number of channels within a work group is reduced to ten. The individual as an organized system is restricted in the inputs he receives, whether energic or informational, or he would lose his identity as an organism and as a personality. In terms of information theory unrestricted communication produces noise rather than meaning.

I would like, then, to call attention to two major sets of factors which determine the coding process in individuals with respect to the reception and interpretation of informational inputs. These factors also affect the final outcome – behavior or action. The first set of factors are cognitive or structural, the second set motivational or dynamic. These factors interact and it is true that psychological structures also have a dynamic of their own. I will simplify the matter, however, by dealing with the organization of beliefs and attitudes as the cognitive structure and human needs and wishes as the motivational base (Katz, 1960).

COGNITIVE ORGANIZATION

The structural factors of cognitive organization were relatively neglected in older experimentation and theory concerning attitudes and attempts to influence people through communication. More recent work has demonstrated their importance. My point of departure will be to present some selected experiments where the outcome would not have been predicted by common sense or older theory and to seek the principles which fit the research findings.

COGNITIVE DIFFERENTIATION

A challenging experiment which bears upon the process of cognitive organization was carried out by William McGuire of Columbia (1961). It is a commonplace notion that extreme beliefs about which there is fairly complete agreement in our society are difficult to change. McGuire felt that in the health area such cultural truisms could readily be found. From a pool of twenty issues he selected four on which there was a high degree of agreement among college freshmen and the agreement came at the extreme end of the scale. They were:

1. Everyone should get a chest X-ray each year in order to detect any possible tuberculous symptoms at an early stage.
2. The effects of penicillin have been, almost without exception, of great benefit to mankind.
3. Most forms of mental illness are not contagious.
4. Everyone should brush his teeth after every meal if at all possible.

Subjects were asked to indicate their beliefs in the truth or falsity of these statements on a 15 interval rating scale with 15 as the true extreme. The mode on all four issues was 15 and the average 13.26. In short, here were four beliefs where there were no dissenting voices and where the overwhelming majority took an extreme position. Hence the expectation would be that these cultural truisms would be highly resistant to change. In fact, previous experimentation has demonstrated that the people at the extreme end of the scale are the most difficult to move, and that where there is widespread social support for an idea it is especially resistant to influence. McGuire found, however, that reading a 1,000 work essay containing arguments against these truisms produced a startling effect. The mean of 13.26 dropped in subsequent measurement to 6.64, a drop of fifty percent. It should be noted that such a change is remarkable in this type of experiment. For example, percent change is much more typical. Moreover, these slighter changes occur with less extreme attitudes with less in the way of universal support. The inference is strong, then, that the effect obtained by McGuire is unusual and would not have been predicted in advance by most theories and much of common sense.

What, then, is operating in this type of situation? McGuire supplies the answer, and his many experiments are consistent with his explanation. He maintains that we accept many common attitudes and beliefs as true without any elaborated ideas or information to support them. There is no cognitive depth or breadth to bolster them. There is no differentiated belief structure so that when the individual is under attack he lacks the information and arguments with which to reply. Some of the prisoners of war in Korea were easily persuaded by the ideolog-

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ical arguments about capitalism and communism because they had no set of structured beliefs of their own. For them the belief in the American way of life was a cultural truism in McGuire's sense. Ordinarily we avoid challenges to our cultural truisms by avoiding information which is contradictory. In some instances, however, we are part of a captive audience or are brought to the point of confrontation, and then the lack of a differentiated, elaborated belief system becomes significant.

The results from experiments on the relative merit of presenting both favorable and unfavorable arguments as against only one side of the issue are consistent with the significance we have attached to cognitive differentiation. Lumsdaine and Janis (1951) found that a two-sided argument is more effective in the long run (1) when the audience originally agrees with the communicator's opinion, and (2) when, regardless of initial opinion, the subjects are subsequently exposed to counterpropaganda. If, however, people initially agree with the position of the communicator and are not later subjected to counterpropaganda, the one-sided presentation is superior to the two-sided. In his research on cultural truisms McGuire (1961) also found that supplying arguments both for and against these beliefs strengthened their resistance to later counterpropaganda.

Any theory of communication and persuasion must take account of the dimension of cognitive structure or organization — in this case the complexity and differentiation of the relevant belief system. The theorists who have emphasized this aspect of cognitive organization are Krech and Crutchfield (1948). They maintain that people absorb new information and new experiences in such a fashion as to affect minimal changes in the structure of attitudes, beliefs and values. People will change little, then, in areas where they have well developed, elaborated and articulated ideas and information, since they can handle the new input within the existing framework. Where there is no such differentiated cognitive structure the belief can be readily affected once contact is made with it. Support for this proposition comes from the work of V. French (1947), whose study indicated that the strongest, most resistant religious attitudes were those which had the greatest cognitive differentiation.

MEMORY AFFECTS SOURCE AND CONTENT DIFFERENTIALLY

Another experiment which upsets some of our conventional thinking about the communication process is that of Hovland and Weiss (1952) on the effects of the prestige or credibility of the source of the communication. Common sense would suggest that messages appearing in prestigeful journals or advocated by respected people would enjoy a real advantage in influencing their audiences. Common sense, moreover, has the support of a considerable body of experiments and of theorizing to support this hypothesis. The experiment of Lorge (1936) is typical of this line of work. He found, for example, that the statement of John Adams, "those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society," when attributed to Karl Marx received much less endorsement than when attributed to its rightful author, Adams. But what else would one expect? In more recent experimental work Charles Osgood (1960) has measured the degree of favor with which subjects view certain statements of opinion and certain authors and authorities. A given statement is, then, presented as having the endorsement of a given author. In general, in accord with Osgood's principle of congruity, the statement will take on a new value which is the algebraic resultant of its previous value and the value assigned to the authority. For example, a statement previously given a neutral rating, if endorsed by a highly prestigeful person will now be pulled a long way in the positive direction.

Hovland and Weiss, however, introduced a new element in this type of research, namely the sleeper effect occurring over time. First let me describe their experimental design. Like other studies of the effects of prestige, they utilized high and low sources of credibility for the same message. Thus an article about the question of whether anti-histamine drugs should be sold without a doctor's prescription appeared in a booklet as a reprint from the *New England Journal of Biology and Medicine*. One group of subjects was presented this booklet while another was given the same article but this time as a reprint from a mass circulation pictorial magazine. Similarly, a piece about the future of movie theatres appeared as a *Fortune* article to one group and as the outpouring of a syndicated movie-gossip columnist to another group. The high and low credibility sources for another article on atomic submarines were Robert J. Oppenheimer and *Pravda* and for a piece on the steel shortage the Bulletin of the National Resources Planning Board and an extreme right-wing newspaper columnist. To make sure that the experimenters were not attributing their own notion of trustworthy sources to their subjects, they ascertained the actual estimates of source credibility several days before the presentation of the articles. On the average about ninety percent of the subjects rated the sources which had been selected as highly credible as trustworthy. In another session the subjects were presented the various booklets and then asked to record their opinions and to answer factual questions about the content of the communication. As in previous experiments there was a significantly greater effect on the attitudes of the students of the same message appearing under the two different sources. Some twenty-three percent on the average changed from their former opinions in the direction of the position advocated in the article when it came from a highly trustworthy source, whereas only six percent changed when it appeared in a less trustworthy source. It should be noted incidentally that the factual questions showed no difference in the amount of "correct" information absorbed under the two conditions.

Now we come to the new factor introduced by the experimenters. Four weeks later the subjects were again asked their opinion on the same four issues and again tested for factual information based on the articles presented. The results were striking. Both groups now showed the *same* amount of positive shift in attitudes in the direction of the position taken in the communication. The group originally given the trustworthy source lost some of its gain and showed an average positive effect of twelve percent. The group originally given the untrustworthy source, however, had gained and now showed a positive effect of fourteen percent. The two groups were equivalent in amount of positive change four weeks after the communication and both groups had changed significantly from their original position before the communications. In other words, the messages had significant effects even after four weeks whether or not they appeared originally in highly trustworthy sources or in low trustworthy sources. The content of the communication had an impact, the prestige of the source did not. And again there was no appreciable difference between the facts absorbed in the two contexts with pretty fair memory for this information.

What, then, are the implications of these findings for theory and practice? In terms of theory we must recognize that the tie between the source of a message and the content of the communication is not the same in perception as in memory. People remember content but forget the sources from which it derives. In the Holvand-Weiss experiment there was a sleeper effect of the articles appearing in the low prestige journals. People did not accept the implications of the message from a communicator of low credibility in the first instance but over time the source was forgotten and the material remembered. Theoretically, then, we must take account of the dynamics of cognitive organization or the linkages between the various aspects of a message over time. Practically, this means two things. In the first place, if we expect to have the source of the communication retain its effect we have to maintain the linkage between source and message by reiteration of the linkage over time. In a subsequent experiment Kelman and Hovland (1953) demonstrated that the original prestige effect could be reinstated by again supplying the cues of the source. In the second place, it is possible to make the source of a communication more salient in the original presentation by increasing its intensity of centrality. In general the content of an article or a news report is central in our perception and the author or periodical is peripheral. We all have problems remembering the sources of our information. If the communicator source is to be effective over time, then, it must be made more salient at the time of presentation so that it can be part of the organization of the original message.

The fact demonstrated in the experiment that content can overcome source is also seen in the rumor process. Often people pick up information from an unreliable source, at first skeptical about it. They forget the reliability of the source, however, and end up repeating the rumor. Newspapers often forget to check on the sources of the information they receive and the results range from humor to tragedy.

FRAME OF REFERENCE

A third experiment which also bears upon the nature of the way in which people organize information inputs is that of

A. R. Cohen (1961). The major point of departure in this investigation was to study the effect of cognitive tuning, one type of frame of reference, upon the reception of information. Though people show some degree of consistency in the ways in which they interpret their world, the same person can vary considerably in his reactions depending upon the particular situation he is in. We take account both of the situational and personality factors through the concept of *frame of reference.* Frame of reference refers to the set of standards which is invoked in the individual at any one time on the basis of which he interprets incoming information. Such a framework may be established in a number of ways. It may be the accumulation of experiences in a specific culture. For example, after a bitter storm raging in northwestern Europe a British newspaper in London published the headline: "Storm over English Channel; continent isolated." Or it may be the result of a series of more recent events. For example, Richard Nixon some six years ago was seen as representing the right of the political spectrum. With the emergence of Goldwater and his followers Nixon was perceived as a representative of the center. The frame of reference, in this case, the political spectrum, had shifted to accommodate the new inputs. Or the frame of reference can be induced by factors in the immediate situation. The experiment of Cohen was designed to test the effects of inducing two different sets of cognitive tuning upon the interpretation of contradictory information; one set was that of transmitting, the other that of reception. The *transmitting* set was produced by telling subjects that they would have to pass on to their fellows the information they were to receive about a certain character called Jim. The *receiving* set was induced by telling subjects that after reading the information about Jim they would be asked to hear the impressions about the man which other students in the experiment might have formed.

In addition to the two sets of cognitive tuning there were two informational treatments differing in amount of contradiction so that there were four experimental groups in all: one group with the *transmitting* set was given a list of traits descriptive of Jim which were highly contradictory, another group with the *receiving* set was presented the same highly contradictory list, a third group with the *transmitting* set was given a less contradictory list, and the fourth group with the *receiving* set was also presented the less contradictory list. After the list of traits had been presented all subjects were asked to write as fully as they could a description of the sort of person they thought Jim was. These accounts were then coded and scored for the effects of the experimental manipulations. In both groups with the *transmission* set there was a significant tendency to handle the contradictory information through polarization. When subjects knew they would have to tell their colleagues about Jim they organized the contradictory materials to minimize the contradiction, so that they could present a more consistent story, i.e., they polarized their stories about a given image either positive or negative. This was much less true of the subjects with the receiving set who anticipated hearing more about Jim from their colleagues. In other words, the receiving groups were under less pressure to organize the information in simple fashion and so were more accurate in the character sketches they wrote about Jim. This same tendency was true at both levels of contradictory materials but was more pronounced in the condition of high contradiction.

Another aspect of this experiment was that subjects were asked whether they would like more information about Jim to form their impressions and if they wanted to hear more about Jim's good traits or bad traits or both. The people in the transmitting tuning wanted less information than people in the receptive tuning. Moreover, the transmitters wanted information only to confirm either the favorable or unfavorable impression they had formed relative to the receivers who expressed a desire for both types of information.

Again the evidence is that a simple unambiguous organization characterizes the transmission set. Cohen wisely qualifies his interpretation to rule out conditions where people have to transmit information to well informed experts. The conclusion, then, is that we tend to impose a cognitive organization on the information we receive which is congruent with the purposes to which we will use that information rather than an organization which will faithfully represent the facts we have been given.

COGNITIVE DISSONANCE

Self-consistency as a principle of cognitive organization has long been recognized but recently new applications of it have been applied to attitude change by Leon Festinger (1957) and his students. Their formulation is known as cognitive dissonance and it assumes that people will seek to resolve contradictions as these contradictions are reflected in the cognitive process. I shall cite two typical experiments of this group.

> In one, the experimenter, A. R. Cohen (1962), asked Yale students to write an essay against their own view of a current issue, specifically the actions of the New Haven police. There had just been a student riot at Yale with resulting accusations of police brutality and the students felt strongly on the issue. The experimenter approached students in the dormitories and asked a number of them to be subjects. He told them that a research group was studying various aspects of the riots and had gathered full information on the students' side. What was needed now were essays on the police side which would also show how people with differing points of view marshalled their arguments. Five conditions were set up. In one, subjects were offered $10 for writing the essay, in a second $5, in a third $1, in a fourth $.50 and in the fifth or control condition students did not write an essay. Then they were asked to fill out attitude scales concerning the justification of the New Haven police actions in the riot. The basic issue in the experiment had to do with the effects of differential rewards on attitude change. The results were:
>
> | | *Mean Attitude* |
> |---|---|
> | Control Condition | 2.70 |
> | $10 Reward | 2.32 |
> | $5 Reward | 3.08 |
> | $1 Reward | 3.47 |
> | $.50 Reward | 4.54 |
>
> (The higher the mean, the more positive the attitudes toward the New Haven police: range from 7.00 to 1.00.)
>
> These results go counter to reward theory and are not the obvious predictions most people would make. The lower the reward for the activity, the greater was the amount of attitude change. The author predicted these findings on the basis of the theory of cognitive dissonance. According to this theory the greater the cognitive conflict the more is there an impulsion to change. In the case of the subjects receiving the $10 reward, writing an essay opposed to one's convictions produced little dissonance because the reward justified the chore. With small rewards, however, the person felt more conflict in doing something against his

> own views and this tension was later resolved by shifting his attitude in the direction of his behavior.
>
> In a similar experiment in which the more rewarding conditions produced less attitude change than the less rewarding condition, E. E. Smith (1961), under the guise of a study of survival, induced army reservists to eat grasshoppers. In one experimental group the experimenter followed the dictum that a little bit of sugar helps the medicine go down. He was friendly and supportive and encouraged the subjects to smoke. In the second group the experimenter was cold and formal, did not permit smoking and generally behaved in an officious manner. Afterwards subjects were asked to indicate their relative liking and disliking of grasshoppers. In the negative communicator condition there was more change toward liking grasshoppers than in the positive communicator condition. This outcome again had been predicted in accordance with dissonance theory. In the negative communicator condition more dissonance had been produced because to the negative aspect of eating something distasteful was added the disagreeable behavior of the experimenter. Yet the subjects had persevered in the unpleasant task. To justify their behavior they accordingly changed their attitudes.

Dissonance theory makes the opposite prediction from general attitude theory with respect to changing attitudes in that the older theory would assert that the stronger the originally held beliefs the more difficult they are to change. According to the dissonance concept, however, there are conditions under which such firmly held attitudes will show the greatest modification because their very strength will produce greater dissonance than weakly held attitudes. Note, however, the nature of these conditions. They specify that the individual has already been induced to engage in behavior inconsistent with his attitudes and that he has had some choice with respect to this action. Thus there has been some *commitment* on his part to carry out actions inconsistent with his attitudes and hence he is affected by the incongruity between his behavior and his beliefs. If, however, he has no choice but to comply by engaging in an activity inconsistent with his attitudes, little if any dissonance is created. If a businessman is forced at the point of a gun to contribute money to a racketeer he may have feelings of outrage but he experiences no moral conflict. If people are forced to play roles which run contrary to their convictions they will not necessarily take on the ideology of those roles. In the desegregation process, attitude change would be facilitated to the extent to which there is some volition among white people to accept Negroes as human beings or some willingness to accept the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law of the land.

Dissonance theory would postulate that any factor contributing to the strength of an individual's conflict by producing more tension in him would lead to greater change. Thus, factors not ordinarily assumed to be productive of transformation such as strength of conviction, a disagreeable task or a negativistic communicator would make for change by increasing dissonance. The all-important qualification, however, is that people must have some *commitment* to the activity in which such dissonance occurs. In other words, they themselves must have made a decision to embark upon the course of action. If there has been no such commitment people will merely ignore the unpleasant communicator, avoid the punishing task, and persist in their own convictions. How much does this qualification of commitment limit the general usefulness of the dissonance notion? Isn't the major battle one of securing commitment or consent to a course of action in the first place? And how can we engage the attention of people to secure involvement when we are faced with getting through to the public rather than to a captive audience in a classroom? To secure commitment means that people cannot readily leave the field, i.e., to switch to another station on TV or tune out the message psychologically without actually turning off the instrument.

This limitation of commitment, though serious, still leaves room for some useful applications of dissonance theory. In the first place, it should be remembered that any theoretical concept or scientific generalization holds only for specified conditions. Any simple sovereign principle should be suspect in that it is either wrong or else so general as to permit no useful differential predictions. In the second place, almost all theories of communication have the same weakness of dealing with psychological processes after the individual has been engaged or involved in the message. To get him to attend to the message is, however, another story. For example, we may have a theory that a message will be effective if it combines an emotional appeal with an informative remedy. But the public is deluged by a multiplicity of messages, and our nicely prepared presentation may just not get much of a listening audience. Remember that in spite of the exposure of political candidates when running for office or when holding office, the great majority of the American people cannot name their Congressman or their two Senators.

Moreover, the tuning in or tuning out of messages is not a random matter. As J. T. Klapper (1960) has noted, selective exposure to information is the most basic process which research on mass media has been able to establish. People characteristically read the materials consistent with their views just as we tend to select as friends those with values and attitudes similar to our own.

In the third place, commitment does not mean a profound decision on the part of the individual. All it implies is a willingness on his part to enter a situation, take some action or assume a role. So long as he perceives that he has acted voluntarily the requirement is met. Advertisers have long employed techniques for eliciting such behavior either by securing some response through return mail or by pushing the audience to try their product and compare it with other brands. Moreover, the commitment does not necessarily have to be secured by the message itself. The individual may already have made the commitment and the message capitalizes on it. In fact, many, if not most, communication appeals are geared to arousing previous commitments of people as part of the message. Though national political campaigns give some attention to converting the opposition, the bulk of political work concentrates upon maximizing support from those already partially committed to a given party.

In general, then, dissonance theory would argue for shifting the emphasis from heavy external inducements to smaller inducements but with more perception of choice by the individual and more effort on his part. When a person complies through the weight of external pressures there will be little lasting change in his private opinion. Put in these terms, the theory sounds more conventional save that the derivations from it are not conventional, namely, according to its postulates, we would not invest communication with a heavy reward character, we would not seek out the most prestigeful person as the communicator,[1] we would not necessarily minimize the discrepancy between the position advocated and the person's own views.

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[1] The failure of a differential effect over time between the high and low prestige sources in the Hovland-Weiss experiment would not surprise dissonance theorists.

A central characteristic of dissonance theory is its handling of conflict at the cognitive level. It does not inquire into the specific motives which may induce conflict. It merely assumes that cognitive discrepancy, no matter how produced, creates tension to resolve the conflict. This simple formulation is both the strength and weakness of the dissonance concept. The strength lies in a general principle, parsimonious in its assumptions, which holds for many specific situations. The weakness is the failure to take into account the qualitative aspects of conflict and the differential motives productive of conflict. The research it has inspired, however, does call into question many of the usual assumptions made about the impact of communication and resulting attitude change.

MOTIVE PATTERNS

Though dissonance theory has a motivational aspect in maintaining that discrepant cognitions create tension, it is not concerned with motivation in the usual sense of dealing with specific types of motives. But communications are effective in imparting their messages and the action implications through the arousal of motivational states. Hence experiments which deal with the motivational appeal of communications are of special interest to us.

FEAR AROUSAL

One of the best known studies in this area is the research of Janis and Feshbach (1953) on fear-arousing communications. These investigators presented three different illustrated lectures of fifteen minutes duration each to three different groups of high school freshmen. The lectures were designed to provide information about proper care of the teeth. They all contained the same essential information about tooth decay and the same recommendations about oral hygiene practices, but they differed with respect to the amount of fear-arousing material presented. Form 1, the most fearful, emphasized the threat of pain and disease and included vivid pictures of tooth decay and mouth infections; Form 2, the moderate appeal, was a milder version;

and Form 3, the minimal fear appeal, was more neutral in its information about the growth and function of the teeth with only a rare inference to the consequences of tooth neglect.

A week before these communications students had filled out a questionnaire presented as a general health survey which included questions on dental hygiene. Immediately after the illustrated talks students were given a questionnaire to ascertain the immediate effects of the communication, and a week later a follow-up study was conducted.

The results do not follow the predictions that would be made on the basis of a reward-punishment theory. Only one set of findings would have been predicted correctly by this theory. The more fearful the communication, the more worry was expressed by students about the problem and also the higher was their appraisal of the lecture. Thus students in the strongest fear group were more affected and were more impressed by the good teaching job of the communications than were the students in the minimal fear group. But on a test of information about the causes of tooth decay and gum disease and about good oral hygiene practices the three conditions of fear arousal were equally effective. Even more interesting, however, was the follow-up one week later in which the subjects were asked about their practices with respect to care of the teeth. Their answers were compared to their responses a week before the lecture. The strong fear group showed a net change of only eight percent in the direction of greater compliance with the recommendations of the communication – not a significant difference from a control group. The moderate fear group showed a significant change of twenty-two percent and the minimal fear group the highest change of all – thirty-six percent. The results are clear and compelling within the framework of the study. The more that fear was built into the communication, the less effective it was in changing behavior. In fact the high fearful condition had no significant impact on producing behavioral change.

A supplementary feature of this experiment was a study of resistance to counter-propaganda by the three groups. In one of the sub-tests in the follow-up study a week after the lectures, students were given a statement allegedly coming from a well-known dentist that it did not really matter what type of toothbrush one used. This went counter to the lectures, which had given emphasis to the importance of using the proper kind of toothbrush. Comparison of responses about this item between the pre and post questionnaires showed that the low fear group was still strongly affected by the original communication.

Clear as the results are within the experiment, the question remains as to their generalizability. Can we generalize across the board and say that the use of threat or fear is an essentially weak and ineffective procedure, or is it more accurate to say that the problem is one of specifying conditions under which fear and threat can work? Further research has definitely established the latter alternative as correct. Experimentation utilizing fear-arousing communications with respect to the use of seat belts in cars and safe driving practices, with respect to health examinations and with respect to smoking have sometimes reported positive effects of fear in contradiction to the Janis-Feshbach findings and sometimes have confirmed their findings. There is still not complete agreement about the critical conditions, but I would suggest that the following three factors are basic for the effective use of threat and fear:

1. The fear-arousing communications should have some immediate relevance for the individual's own problems.
2. There should be a clear, appropriate action channel available to the person for dealing with the problems.
3. The fear-arousing communication should not be of an intensity or quality to break over the individual's threshold for coping with behavior and arouse mechanisms of ego defense.

The first condition of a problem of immediate relevance for the individual is necessary for effective use of threat in that it is easy for many people to accept the communication at a superficial level but to shrug it off as not really applying to them. Some smokers will admit that there is a link between smoking and lung cancer but the possible dire consequences are too remote for the threat to be effective. In the Janis-Feshbach experiment, some of the teen-agers may have considered the pictures of the diseased gums of older people as having little relevance to their own health. Youngsters typically see a great distance between themselves and the older generation and are generally not too concerned about health problems.

The second condition of a clear appropriate action channel means that the person must perceive some easily accessible means for removing or reducing the danger. Otherwise he will tend to avoid or forget the threat. It was assumed in some quarters during World War II that the saturation bombing of German cities would encourage people to take action against the Hitler regime. Though many Germans were badly frightened by the continuing raids, they did nothing to interfere actively with the war effort. In a police state maintained by repressive controls there were just no channels open for effective action. An experiment by J. C. Nunnally and H. M. Behren (1959) is of interest in this connection. Subjects were presented communications about mental health with the high fear group receiving a description of the electric shock treatment of psychotics in distressing detail. But the experimenters also varied the degree to which the message gave apparent solutions and the personal or impersonal phrasing of the message. People showed the least willingness to receive communications that were high in anxiety, personalized and without solutions. When solutions were offered in the communication there was more willingness to accept the high-anxiety message.

In an experiment in a field setting in which behavior as well as attitudes could be measured, H. Leventhal and P. Niles (1964) presented films on lung cancer to a volunteer group of people at the New York City Health Exposition held in August, 1961. In the strong fear presentation the film included scenes from an operation for lung cancer in all its gory details. The exposition provided facilities for taking chest X-rays. In other words, an immediately available action channel was present. A higher proportion of the people who saw the fear arousing movies actually took the X-rays than a baseline control group not exposed to the films. Though the control group was not ideal from the point of view of rigorous experimentation, the study does furnish suggestive evidence that fear appeals can be effective in the desired direction if there is a ready means at hand for taking action.

The third condition has to do with ego defensive behavior. Individuals do not always cope with the objective problem which confronts them. They may resort to defense mechanisms which temporarily relieve their own anxieties but do not solve the basic problem. They may, for example, attempt some form of defensive avoidance such as denial or perceptual distortion or they may compartmentalize and rationalize. These reactions are at a different level than coping behavior because they are concerned with the internal psychological economy of the individual and not with objective problem solving. People are reacting to their own anxieties and conflicts rather than to the external nature of the threat. They will differ, moreover, in their thresholds for such defensive behavior. Some conflicted individuals are easily overwhelmed by their anxieties and quickly resort to some type of ego defense. Others who may maintain an objective problem solving attitude in most situations of danger may have particular areas of vulnerability to certain types of threat because of their own past experiences and their own internal conflicts. When fear is used it may be sufficiently anxiety producing or it may relate so clearly to areas of ego weakness that people will show repression and defensive avoidance.

The eliciting of ego defense is clearly related to the second factor, already discussed, of a clear behavior pattern for reducing tension. People will be less ego defensive if they have readily available a means for dealing with the threat. The relation of ego defense to the first factor of an immediate problem of importance to the individual is more complex. On the one hand, people are not likely to become defensive about a fear-arousing communication which deals with matters remote from their own concerns. They may show avoidance but it will not be defensive avoidance. It will merely be a move away from unpleasantness of a situation of little interest to them. On the other hand, as people are confronted with threat about problems of importance to them, they will not react positively if the threat hits at some basic weakness about which they are already defensive. The person, for example, who has lost vision in one eye and is deeply worried about going blind may react to a fear arousing communication about vision in defensive fashion. The use of fear arousal is thus limited because it must be related to the individual's own problems to be effective, but it must not deal with an area in which the person characteristically mobilizes his defenses. A sensible conclusion, then, in situations where we have had no chance to assess the ego defensiveness of an audience in advance, is to use appeals which are less difficult and tricky in their application.

If the theory of ego-defense is correct it follows that the basic method for the modification of attitudes protective of the ego is not through threat or even promise of rewards, but through efforts to give the individual more self-insight into his own motives and mechanisms. To the extent, for example, that racial prejudice is based upon the individual's own repressed hostilities, the change procedure required is that of furnishing him information about his own functioning. For those whose ego-defenses go very deep, the psychologically sick, information of any type will not get coded. But many people, though defensive under threat or stress, have some awareness of their problem. For this group a useful technique may be a demonstration of the psychodynamics of attitudes. Gordon Allport's widely used pamphlet on the ABC's of scapegoating is an illustration of this approach. Allport's pamphlets took common examples in daily life of aggression displaced against a scapegoat, as in the case of the frustrated father after a tough day at the office taking hostility out on his family that night. He went on to show the basic dynamics of the process and related it to racial prejudice. In a movie short, an animated cartoon, utilized in a health campaign several years ago, the same technique was employed to persuade people to take cancer examinations. The film showed a man and wife driving along, encountering a sign publicizing the clinic for X-rays for cancer detection. The wife reminded the husband of those persistent internal pains of his. The husband then went through the usual defenses of denial, distortion, hostility and rationalization. Each mechanism was labelled and demonstrated so that the audience could get the message. There had been little research on this approach but some colleagues and I have carried on experimentation on changing racially prejudiced attitudes (Katz, Sarnoff and McClintock, 1956, 1957). We presented the case history of a subject similar to the college students with whom we were dealing and presented the case in a sympathetic enough fashion so that there could be some identification. The central character did, however, have prejudices and their origins and dynamics were described. To other experimental groups we presented more of the conventional information materials with respect to cultural relativism and the historical facts with respect to the progress of Negroes. We also assessed their defensiveness though projective tests. Two findings appeared in these investigations: (1) Subjects who were very high in defensiveness were not affected by the insight materials but subjects of low and moderate defensiveness were significantly affected. (2) The changes in racial prejudice produced by arousing self-insight persisted for a longer period of time than those induced by the more conventional information approach. After a six-week period the students who had had self-insight presentation were definitely more tolerant than those given the information materials, though there had been the same degree of favorable change immediately after the induction.

In summary, then, my approach to communication and persuasion would be to emphasize qualitative aspects of the process and to depart from the assumption that quantitative increases of information are necessarily effective. If we follow the quantitative approach we place our emphasis on the externals of the process and make minimal assumptions about the nature of people. Thus we would assume that people are essentially nonreactive receptacles and that the two major dimensions are the sheer quantity of stimuli, or ability to saturate a public, and the sheer intensity of the stimulation in terms of the prestige of the source and the loudness of the message. The approach I am advocating would give more attention to people as reactive agents, as possessing powers of cognitive organization, and as affected by the dynamics of their cognitive and motivational structures. People do not merely react to stimuli, they can grasp their meaning and they can develop fundamental understanding of the pattern of information presented to them. I do not mean to resurrect a rational model of man but to point out that from his own point of view and in relation to the information available to him the individual does act sensibly and comprehendingly. Much of the research evidence I have cited fits this interpretation. Where people have had more thorough understanding of an issue, they develop differentiated belief structures which are not swept aside by irrational arguments. Where they have been given both sides of an issue, they are much more capable of dealing with counterpropaganda. When confronted with cognitive inconsistency, they change in the direction of consistency. And basic to such changes is their own voluntary movement into the situation. As they participate and enter into a process because of their own decisions, they work through the implications of attitude change for themselves more clearly. Even when saddled with defenses to protect their own egos, they are open to materials designed to allow for the process of self-insight.

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CHAPTER 4

Television, Radio and Films: A Survey

HARRY J. SKORNIA

In late 1964 Dr. Steven Muller, Director of the Cornell Center for International Studies, told the Convention of the New York State Association of Secondary School Administrators: "The colleges are in ferment. In fact, the American university is at this moment in as revolutionary a state as it has ever been, at least since the founding of the great land-grant colleges a century ago." Elementary and secondary education are in equal revolution.

The drop-out rate is frightening. Its consequences, in the lives of these students, in unemployment figures, in delinquency, in mental health problems and in a dozen other areas will be awesome in another ten years if not before.

The fruits of the electronic age we have entered are not yet fully apparent. The new languages of television, radio and films have had consequences for which the nation blames the schools as a convenient whipping-boy, as it blames them for physical unfitness. Johnny can't read, or write, not only in the United States, but in nation after nation. In France and most of the Western world, as the electronic media become dominant, the schools are fighting a desperate rear-guard action to preserve the curricula, traditions, standards, designs and solutions to problems that were developed in, and appropriate to, an age based on print, on *literate* concepts, on the written word. But this age, this sense of security for educators, these standards, are gone forever. Today most of the communication we receive – and especially our children who do not have our anchorage in a print age when being educated was referred to as being "well-*read*" – is effected by moving shapes, colors, tones, rhythms, and the bombardment of evanescent media that hit and run and are gone, too fleeting to stop in flight and analyze or challenge.

Into this breach we are called upon to hurl the "technology of education." Pared to essentials, this phrase includes mechanical, electric, electronic and other devices and procedures: films, television, radio, language laboratories, team-teaching, teaching machines, programmed learning and the other instruments of our age. What is too little forgotten is that these *tools* of themselves no more guarantee better education than many varieties of the finest oil paints, water colors and other art *media* guarantee great *art*.

As a nation we have been prone to wait until problems become crises before we do anything about them. Sputnik helped. With the passage in 1958 of the National Defense Education Act we had, for the first time, Congressional and Executive recognition of the importance of these new media, and the necessity to bend them to educational – not merely commercial and entertainment – uses, if we are to survive as a great nation. That this Act was labelled a *Defense* Act is of considerable significance. Yet a comparison of budgeting for this kind of defense with the military kind reveals how far we have yet to go before our actions match our words, as a nation. But at least a modest break-through was launched to adapt our previously print-based educational system to the modern age.

Already nearly two years ago, *at a conference at Brandeis* University, C. R. Carpenter, of Penn State, declared: "More research and development work on the applied level has been done on educational television than on any other single innovation or development in American education." When to activity in educational television we add those in films and radio – the areas I'm asked to cover – to say nothing of programmed learning, the proliferation of new developments is almost beyond imagination. As I survey much of this activity, I must tell you in all candor that I am often as frightened as I am overwhelmed. Many patterns are becoming practices on the basis of the most dangerous hit-and-miss efforts and "hunch" bases. That so many wrong things (a personal opinion) are being done, in such desperately dangerous times, disturbs me. I am not authorized to speak for others who, like me, survey the huge accumulation of findings. (When I recently distributed my personal collection of research reports of the last few years to various departmental branches of the University of Illinois Library, the stack measured over seventeen feet of printed and mimeographed reports.) But while I hesitate to use the phrase "vast wasteland" to describe the *general* level – thank heaven there are many exceptions – I must tell you that I feel a great discouragement in general at what we have accomplished.

Before getting answers, we need to ask the right questions. I don't think, on balance, that we have done this. So many perfectly right answers don't interest me in the least, because so many of the questions were irrelevant to our problems. In many cases reports reveal better ways of doing things we should no longer be doing at all. Many of the so-called research reports are products of workers with no research training or standards. They do not stand up under any valid research criteria. My principal consolation, in spite of the many wasted and misdirected efforts so far, is that we *have* started: that research, by name, has begun to be recognized as a *need*. Perhaps, by now, we have begun to realize that no quick, easy or conclusive findings have emerged, or will emerge, from any few experiments, however well-funded they may be. Solutions will come only from long, slow, careful, specific well-controlled research and experimentation. And I think we should now enter that era, putting behind us impatience or belief in the value of amateur solutions intended to save money or make education quick and easy.

If I may sound a very personal note: I wish I were more certain that I am the right person to provide the overview which this paper and this presentation are expected to provide. I wonder if I am not too close to the woods to see the important trees.

Ten years ago this spring, I was Executive Director of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, housed in a tiny office in Gregory Hall, on the University of Illinois campus. Already then, experimentation was mounting, and reports were coming in too fast to cope with. Dr. Wilbur Schramm, then Dean of Communications at Illinois, suggested to me that the NAEB might perform a useful service by summarizing research and teaching reports, and publishing them. Thus was born the NAEB *Factsheet* service, summarizing significant research. Dean Schramm, whose unending energy never ceases to amaze me, did the first digests personally. The NAEB *Factsheets,* now running to well over three hundred, are still being published, and provide a useful record for interested individuals. Research Seminars were later conducted by the NAEB and reports of their proceedings are still available and useful.

Across the hall were a dozen or so young researchers in training. One of them, Hideya Kumata, had completed his Ph.D., and was also impressed with the mounting volume of research and experimentation. Thus and there was born his *Inventory of Instructional Television Research,* published the following year, in 1956. It was the first of many such summaries and digests to appear later.

Then came many conferences, several of them spear-headed by the Department of Audiovisual Instruction of the National Education Association. Its fine *Audiovisual Communication Review* (now *AV Review*), contains hundreds of the most important studies and projects of the last ten years, as well as abstracts of hundreds of new media research and experimentation reports.

In 1958, many of us helped find staff and develop policies for the newly-born National Defense Education Act. There were several titles, as you know, covering experimentation and research into Language, Mathematics, Science and other specific disciplines, as well as a Cooperative Research Program. Title VII of this Act dealt specifically with the new media. Of the perhaps ten thousand applications which came in for funding, many were read and rejected. By the time I left the Advisory Committee for this program a few months ago, Part A had supported over one thousand grants and Part B had contracted for some two hundred projects, not all, of course, in films, television or radio. Many were in the programmed learning field.

Prior to the enactment of the National Defense Education Act, the Ford Foundation, through the Fund for the Advancement of Education, had a national program going in hundreds of schools across the nation. These too, needed to be followed and studied. The list alone of institutions supported in the Fund's efforts runs to several pages. The 1961 summary of the Fund's report mentioned 800 schools in its many projects.

Meanwhile, training programs of the Navy, Air Force and Army were proliferating, with significant results, based on competent research by qualified researchers. And many independent studies were reminding us that not the only, or the best, studies were going on under all these umbrellas.

As Chairman of the Mass Communications Committee of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, I found that some of the most significant developments were taking place abroad. Japan's nation-wide system of educational television is many years ahead of us. Italy's *Telescuola* program for illiterates and remote area students is one the U. S. can envy. Russia's development of language laboratories from 1954 on set standards and levels we are still far behind. And the volumes of proceedings from international conferences held around the world, and reports of studies in some forty countries, continue to come in. I truly have felt too close to the woods to provide the perspective which I know is needed for this conference.

Some compromise obviously had to be found. The one I have adopted is to limit myself drastically in the number of specifics which can be covered in this paper. How much you profit from what I have been able to do will depend very heavily on the *home* work you are willing and able to do after you leave here. From my personal point of view the selective bibliography I've compiled at the end may well be more useful and significant than what I have to say here. I urge you to follow up as much as possible in using it, for much of the knowledge of research in these media is to be found listed there. How else can you be exposed to the findings and guidance of capable scholars and researchers like Allen, Becker, Belson (of England), Bronson, Carpenter, Cassirer, Dale, Deutschmann, Edling, Evans, Fairbanks, Finn, Furu (of Japan), Gerbner, Glaser, Greenhill, Gropper, Hartman, Hayman, Hoban, Holmes, Hovland, Kanner, Lasswell, Lumsdaine, Maccoby, McLuhan, May, Meierhenry, Miller, Oxhandler, Popham, Postman, Schramm, Siegel, Skinner, Smith, Stickell, Tannenbaum, Twyford, Vander Meer, Vernon, Vesselo (Europe), and Westley — to mention only a few of the senior leaders in this field? For the several hundred not mentioned in this bibliography I offer my apologies. This bibliography resembles no other, representing as it does the most agonizing appraisal and drastic elimination in order to keep only what I found most directly useful.

For the admirable digests they provide of what they consider the most significant studies in recent years I would underline the value of summaries and evaluations of Barrow and Westley, Lumsdaine (in Gage), MacLennan and Reid, and Schramm, as well as *Audio Visual Communication Review,* the NAEB *Fact-*

sheets, summaries available from the U. S. Office of Education for NDEA projects, and the Ford Foundation for the Fund for the Advancement of Education. In many sections of this paper, it will be noted, no single authority is listed, because so many experiments have been replicated, and it is often difficult to know which is the original one. To individuals thereby deprived of recognition, I offer most sincere regrets.

Some of the most significant reports, of course, are modest, unfunded ones, never published. For example it is my opinion that the new program in the teaching of biological sciences, at Purdue, to be referred to later, and other similar ones being quietly carried out from regularly budgeted local funds, are of great importance for their imagination, originality and modesty.

In view of the enormous volume of data, and the scores of categories used by different scholars and summarizers, only a few of the principal problem areas are attempted here: a few salient trends, and directions which appear to me basic. These plus the bibliography are the most I can provide from the mass of data available.

Although films, radio and television are separately discussed very briefly, later analytical sections take them up together. One reason is that it is often difficult to decide whether certain studies using various media are television or film, for example. Also, one of the most significant emergent trends is for the use of more than one medium in which the lines between the separate media merge into areas of common uses and problems. Finally, the brief introductory discussion of each of the separate media is restricted largely to historical and technical matters since *functionally* they are later discussed together in terms of principally common problems. So saying . . .

FILMS: A FEW OBSERVATIONS

First a disclaimer: one of the reasons I am humble about my role in presuming to cover the area assigned to me is that I do not presume to be an authority on film uses for education. I therefore invite supplementation to this section by others in session assembled and in other papers which may be prepared.

Lumsdaine in his "Instruments and Media of Instruction," has admirably traced the history of the instructional film. The predominantly psychological emphases which prevailed from 1918 to 1930; the Payne studies in the 1930's; World War II emphases on propaganda uses; Hoban and Van Ormer's excellent study of 1950 and May and Lumsdaine's of 1958; and the excellent projects of the office of Naval Research, the Navy's Special Devices Center and the Air Force, represent benchmarks in shaping and tracing the development of film uses for education. In these uses the names of Hovland, Lumsdaine, Sheffield, Hoban, Kanner, and the Payne Fund provide useful leads for further inquiry. Film research, then, covers a period of nearly fifty years, as compared to the shorter span for radio and television. The Wilson film catalog of 1958 listed over 10,000 teaching films. The extensive literature of film research has great relevancy for television. The writer, Schramm, and others have suggested the need for such a study, but up to the present no adequate work along this line has appeared, to my knowledge.

The comparative advantages of silent and sound film, of moving pictures versus slides, of sound film in the classroom, on television and in conjunction with graphics, still seem subject to considerable further development, especially newer approaches to 16-millimeter films, to which present attention is given, and the very promising newly-developed 8-millimeter films, with cartridge loading. The problem of teacher difficulties with projectors in the classroom has greatly reduced more effective film uses in schools in the past. Both TV and the new 8-mm developments remove many of these objections.

The long tradition of film uses, both in production and utilization, has been greatly modified in recent years in order to make possible their joint uses with other tools, including teaching machines, many uses of which involve flexible start-stop characteristics, and emphasis on shorter segments, rather than on longer films which seek to do an entire teaching job by themselves. Like radio, film has found itself increasingly in the role of an *aid*, rather than a primary instrument or medium.

In addition to the new uses of film itself, as mentioned above, the recently-developed rear view projector has greatly facilitated integrated uses. Such projectors are convenient; they are in one piece and don't require a separate screen. Being simpler to operate, they lend themselves to use by a teacher in the front of the room who can stop and start them as desired to allow for discussion as needed, without involving impatient operators and the other problems of old-style projectors, which most of us recall. The room need not be darkened for their use, so reloading, note-taking and discussion are more easily possible. Finally, the entertainment "set," in which, when the room is darkened and a film is shown, students tend to "horse around," lean back expecting to be entertained, as at the movies, or even go to sleep, is eliminated as an obstacle to learning which has offered serious problems in the past.

Although most film use research will be taken up later, in connection with common new media problems, two additional observations should be made here. First, Renshaw, Miller, and Marquis in Payne Fund studies on the effect of viewing movies on students' sleep and rest, revealed some disturbing findings on learning-readiness and alertness of children in the classroom. These effects are noted also by Schramm, thirty years later, in connection with out-of-school viewing of television. As noted earlier, films in general, thus viewed, created in children habits of relaxation and the expectation of pleasure, rather than learning, from films, which provided obstacles later to solid learning uses of films in classroom situations. They also often left children sleepy; and teachers suffered as "performers" in comparison with celebrities viewed in films and on TV.

Secondly, the individuals involved in audio-visual activities of the schools in the early days had to be technically enough trained to cope with projector problems: threading, splicing, and so on. There was therefore more gadget or technical orientation on the part of such early personnel than appears later to be true in either radio or television, where dominant personnel were more program-oriented. Consequently more of the interesting technical developments in the media field recently have come from film ranks than from radio or television workers. However, so far, *technical* research is still one of the types most badly neglected and needed in the new media. Even today most TV receivers and other equipment in the schools have simply been commercial models, designed for homes and entertainment uses. The needs of education are quite different. Far more research is needed into the functional desiderata of equipment and systems for schools. Many such studies need to be combination ones. Karl Smith, in his study of "Audio-visumatic Teaching" suggests the possibilities of (frequently film-based) magnetic tape recorders with built-in electronic controls to make possible coordinated classroom uses of slide and film strip projectors, for example, in a classroom audio-visual systems approach which a variety of technical developments now makes possible. Further non-mass film applications are needed before film uses, as such, find their proper role in the media "mix" and many of the problems involved are technical.

RADIO: A BRIEF LOOK

The most spectacular recent break-throughs in educational radio uses have come not in production or reception, but in the development of state-wide systems, such as that pioneered by the Albany Medical College (See Fredette) and the developing national experiment by the NAEB, under contract with the Office of Education to develop a nation-wide interconnected conference, materials and talent exchange between the institutions of higher education of the nation by radio. From Albany fifteen to twenty minute lectures on the newest developments in medicine and surgery are followed by two-way question and answer and discussion sessions in which doctors, assembled at remote hospitals of the state, participate. In one of the early stages of this experiment seventy-six ham operators made their sets available for the talkback, question and discussion portion of the sessions. North Carolina (Hilliard) has since begun the development of a similar system, revealing vastly more versatile and socially useful uses of radio than advertising-based broadcasting has ever developed. The tremendous two-way radio potentials alone for post-graduate as well as undergraduate education are invigorating. However, this is only a first step. The next logical one, since most educational stations are FM, would and should be application of the orphaned electronic child, facsimile, riding the FM waves on multiplex and providing instantaneous distribution of visual and printed study materials which can then be used on local ETV or by balop and new projection methods, in the classrooms individually. Combined with the now-possible ETV fixed services (Bronson) at the upper 2,000 megacycle frequencies (essentially narrow-band, point-to-point TV) the discipline-by-discipline possibilities this offers for dentistry, medicine, science, art and other fields are difficult to exaggerate. Perhaps the most significant opportunities available to education in both radio and television, in fact, are those available under the FCC's Subsidiary Communications Authorizations (SCA). These are non-mass uses, and education's needs are principally non-mass.

Low-power FM has now developed far enough to find its counterpart in TV (See Holtshouser). In planning efficient, versatile and economical uses of integrated radio-TV-film resources, I must emphasize, education *must* follow and participate in technical developments. Even lasers, masers and satellites require educational attention, or education will find itself deprived of them, while commerce uses them to sell more soap and cigarettes.

I realize that individual schools have neither the personnel nor the time to keep abreast of technical developments. Participation is possible, however, through organizations like the NAEB, the Joint Committee on Educational Broadcasting and other groups. Individual and professional associations generally would do well to assign individuals or committees to keep a watch on these developments. Only by so doing were organized astronomers able to secure specific reservation of certain UHF frequencies for radio-astronomy use. But such reservations come only to those who ask, and educational specialists must know what they need, before asking, for such requests must be very specific. What is needed, I think, is not simply a "national ETV Network," which I hear mentioned so often, but an integrated national electronic "systems" network which facilitates coordinated use of all new media.

As for unique radio-only success stories, there are many. One of the greatest is that of the Radiophonic Schools of Sutatenza, Colombia, South America (Ozaeta). With a program triggered by and focussed on radio, reforestation (over two million trees) has been carried out; twenty thousand aqueducts, bridges and highways have been built; fifteen thousand rural workers have been trained to vaccinate cattle and other domestic animals; basketball courts and sports programs have been developed throughout the nation in a vast program of sports fitness and active recreation; the prisons of the nation have intensive reading, retraining and other educational programs; and twenty-five thousand sub-standard housing units have been remodeled and improved.

By radio the BBC has taught the world English, with intensive programs since 1939 for over sixty countries, until English is virtually the world's "standard" language. In the Soviet Union a standard common language, co-existing with over a hundred dialects, is gradually developing via radio, more recently keyed to language laboratory programs which involve not only tapes and films, but also listening to and transcribing *live* radio broadcasts in the languages studied. Many children can understand English before they can read in many parts of Russia, China, Japan and India.

In the United States the Wisconsin School of the Air, and other school programs, have again begun to use radio, after trying television, for art, music appreciation, language instruction, humanities and the social sciences. Such devices as speech compression, which make possible communication of the spoken word at rates up to three times the speaker's delivery rate have resulted in *better* rather than poorer comprehension (Fairbanks).

Radio and audio recordings are indeed coming back into their own in many ways. History programs without archives of the *spoken* words of Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Kennedy are missing an important dimension. Though Westley and Barrow found that students in numerous classes learned more by TV, they found, in post-tests, that the retention of radio students tested six weeks later was as high as that of television viewers. Husbands in many televised adult education and human relations programs had as high test results from sound-only tape recordings of these series as their wives who saw the televised versions during the day while the husbands were at work.

There was little research before 1961 into the unique roles which tape recordings and radio can perform — not only more cheaply, but more effectively (many times), than any other medium. With language labs some impetus has been given in this area. Far more is needed if this flexible, economical medium is to find its proper role in education's arsenal, usually in combination with other tools and methods, rather than alone.

TELEVISION: BIG SISTER

Television came late. But it came with a greater attracting power than any previous medium or combination of media. According to Dr. Frank Stanton, CBS alone is now the world's largest advertising medium. When network presidents a few years ago were begging for less regulation because TV was an infant industry, delicate and easy to destroy, a newspaper-magazine publisher was heard to mutter: "Some kid!"

The struggle of education for access to radio and television frequencies was a rocky one. Efforts to secure allocations for standard (AM) radio already in 1927 and 1928, under the Federal Radio Commission, were frustrated by determined broadcast industry opposition, led by the two original networks, which were just then getting into operation. Efforts to secure educational frequencies under the newly-created Federal Communications Commission in 1934 were equally successfully contained. The Wagner-Hatfield Bill (See R. Franklin Smith) was defeated following determined pressure by the networks, the trade association, and several other industry leaders. The President of CBS appealed to the FCC not to divide the *mass* medium of radio for special allocations and special services, and assured the FCC that education would be well taken care of by commercial broadcasters. The new FCC concluded there was no need for education to have its own stations. To this day, as you know, education has no reservations in the standard AM band, although the NAEB and other groups are still seeking to end this discrimination through proposals to break down reservations for some fifty clear channel stations which would make several hundred AM educational stations possible. Education does have reservations in FM; and in 1952, in spite of the opposition, again, of the networks, the trade association, and much of the trade press, with determined resistance on a city-by-city basis, education secured some two hundred forty channels on a reserved basis. The history of this struggle, and of commercial opposition, going so far as a court fight in Illinois to keep the University from having its own station, is well documented by Powell.

When allocations were finally made, they were on a year-to-year basis, with repeated warnings from the FCC to use them at once or lose them. Exhausted, discouraged, unable to secure appropriated funds rapidly enough to activate stations quickly, the educational pioneers who believed in ETV were many times close to exhaustion, and the dream of educational television was close to extinction. It was at this time that the principal educational associations rallied, with the NAEB and through the Joint Committee of Educational Television, to secure funds. It is to the great credit of the Fund for Adult Education, created by the Ford Foundation, though now no longer extant, that educational television was born, and now survives. Ford also has heavily supported educational television programming, as the W. K. Kellogg Foundation had earlier done with its grants to the NAEB which enabled this organization to set up a staff and create a *radio* network for education, via tape recordings in the early fifties.

Today things look better. Besides several hundred closed-circuit installations, there are now some one hundred educational broadcast stations on the air, with another hundred on the way. They serve a hundred million adults and twenty million school, college, and university students. Over fifty thousand credit courses are now offered via closed and open circuit television. In some underdeveloped areas, like American Samoa (Bronson) television is the foundation and basis of entire new educational systems, bypassing centuries of the slow evolution of traditional, print-based systems which then must be changed anyway to accommodate the modern media.

Here I would like to illustrate what poor educators can do to change the course of history, though it transcends research. Some seven years ago a band of us were assembled in a hotel bedroom following NAEB Convention sessions and a board meeting. We were desperate. We were still in danger of extinction. We remembered how educational AM radio stations had been decimated in the 1930's, dropping from over two hundred to fewer than thirty. Someone, perhaps under the influence of exhaustion or other pressures, wondered out loud if "federal aid to educational television" might be a possibility. The political climate, you may recall, was hardly conducive to this approach this many years ago. After the laughter subsided, we kicked the idea around. Notes were taken. Later our legal counsel, at that time Leonard Marks of Cohn and Marks, discussed possibilities with the administrative assistant of Senator Warren Magnuson. A few months later the Magnuson-Roberts Bill was introduced and promptly passed in the Senate. It was held up for two years in the House Rules Committee, while we pressed for its passage. When Public Law 87-447 passed, however, a last giant stride and impetus was given. Thirty-two million dollars were appropriated to assist states, on a matching basis, to develop educational television facilities. The bull session had paid off.

Now, in the last few years, educational television has grown from an unknown instrument to a major medium of instruction in U. S. education. Quantitatively it is a success. Qualitatively we still have far to go.

Fortunately ETV was so big and so powerful that it revealed the need for research as no other medium could do. The schools had been needing to do intensive learning theory and teaching research all along. TV involved so many media (films, tape, graphics) and persons (administration, teachers, producers, writers) that a new type of *cooperative* activity in planning and presentation was literally forced if the entire movement was to be a boon instead of a bane. TV is not one medium but a combination of media. The question: which of the media is, or are, most effective in teaching what, found in television a giant which *forced* some solid re-evaluations. Improved education will follow educational television only if and where there are all-out efforts which involve the re-organization and re-definition of staff needs, the design of wholly new types of facilities, the revision and overdue restructuring of curricula which now become possible, and a score of other excruciating wrenches in educational thinking. If TV is seen as merely a new transportation facility to permit the better distribution of outmoded materials, it will make only for cheaper education. What is needed is better education. With TV, which erases geographical boundaries, whole new concepts are possible.

In its cooperative ETV project the Southern Regional Education Board has found that faculties of different institutions will willingly use the offerings of other institutions, if they can be involved in the planning. This factor — cooperative planning and involvement — is more important than geographical proximity of states or institutions.

But the first "reports" and studies of ETV's successes were pathetic. They did show how TV could fill in shortages: of teachers, classrooms, and subjects taught. But usually they merely distributed existing lectures, preserved the boundaries between departments and thereby froze the very progress which ETV invited.

Schramm has noted that ETV has many weaknesses. Oversimplified: it permits no questions, no discussion, no drill, no use of individual differences, and usually promotes passive learning rather than seeking, in all too many of its uses. It also has many strengths: it can magnify and show an entire class at once what's under the microscope. It can handle all other media: films, graphics, slides, records. It can force concentrated attention, share the best teachers, provide a new timeliness of materials and speakers, and provide a welcome relief and change of pace from usual classroom routines.

More and more reports began to filter in. TV proved to be a great equalizer for unequal school systems. The small school can offer new subjects. Pasewark found TV-taught groups doing significantly better than non-TV groups in typing. North Carolina found "TV instruction, on balance, more effective than conventional (face-to-face) instruction." Oregon (Starlin) reported students learning as well by TV as those taught face-to-face. Houston found TV could remove the pressure for new classroom buildings which the University could not afford.

The Hagerstown experiment reported that in no subject did TV fail to produce results at least as good as those achieved when classroom instruction alone is used. If you ask Hagerstown students today how they like TV-geared teaching as compared to conventional teaching, they will say: "But we've always had TV." Instructional TV is finding its integral place. But that place is not to save money, or replace teachers, or to save space. As the Hagerstown report itself declares (p. 79), "County officials would want to continue using television even if by some stroke of magic it had all the good teachers, classroom space and instructional materials that could be desired."

But this success is traceable to good *uses* of television. Some schools have tried and abandoned it. They were not ready. The ground must be prepared. Teachers must be trained and retrained. Careful research must be carried out. To quote once more from the Hagerstown report (p. 37), "There is no magic in television. It is simply a mechanical device, a one-way channel of communication which has many advantages and certain shortcomings. It can be used well or poorly." And one thing that emerges from study after study, as noted especially in the Denver-Stanford Study (Hayman) is this: Don't try to use TV alone. "It is much more potent when reinforced with other elements of the total teaching-learning context." It is not TV *or.* TV is no panacea.

With, but not simply *by,* television, we can teach faster. Students can learn more. Students will remember more, months later, in many cases. It can teach driver-training and motor-skills and it can change attitudes, as Evans reports. Gordon found that the TV teaching of a trained speech correctionist produced significantly more improvement in articulation than face-to-face teaching by the regular (available) classroom teacher.

The validity and generalizability of such findings will later be challenged: there are too many variables to generalize from such findings. Are some of these differences due to differences in teachers rather than the use of different tools? Or if the same teacher is used for both conventional and TV teaching, does this mean that TV is better, or that the TV teacher tries harder and teaches better, in which case she might, with proper condiions and motivation, teach better in the classroom too? Chicago Junior College (Erickson and Chausow) found there were often greater differences *within* TV groups than between TV and non-TV groups, some traceable to the use of different teachers and others traceable to different class composition. We must bore deeper into the many factors involved than we have so far done. Let us now look at some of these factors and problems as they relate to all these media.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "NO SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE"

There is no further need to prove that TV (or films, or radio) can teach as well as conventional methods — or better — or more poorly — depending on the TV (for example) teacher or presentation, the teacher in the classroom (where there is one), the kind and motivation of students, the quality of the utilization or whatever follows, and the nature and adequacy of the tests used to do the measuring.

In 1962, surveying approximately four hundred cases comparing TV with conventional methods, Schramm found no significant difference in sixty-five percent of the cases. If there is so often no significant difference — and this is the principal finding in over a thousand studies — what criteria shall be used to decide whether or not to use TV, and if so in what "mix"? Actually this phrase, "no significant difference" conceals more than it reveals. If there is no significant difference between how well one teacher teaches thousands, and how well similar students are taught in conventional classrooms, this is most significant if teachers are in short supply. If material learned in a half-hour by TV tests as high as that taught in fifty minutes by non-TV, we've saved a great deal of time for other things a school might do. If there is no significant difference between the learning of students at home from TV lectures as compared to those in the lecture hall, this has space and building implications for universities and colleges. If TV, in case after case, saves instructor and student time and results in at least equally good learning from laboratory or other demonstrations, how can we justify *not* using it?

I would urge you never to be satisfied with "no significant difference" as an answer to a question of relative effectiveness. And I would urge researchers to come up with the *other* differences and implications, and to test them beyond this point. "No significant difference" is not a stopping point. It is a starting point from which to begin to find what the *real* differences and implications are.

TEACHER ROLES AND ATTITUDES

The first teachers were individual tutors, like Socrates. The pressures of progress "organized" them into schools. Print media brought increased standardization. All teachers, within limits, taught the same courses from the same books. Authors were apparently teaching via teachers who often only explicated the course "content." With the arrival of TV, many teachers, and teachers' groups, resisted further demotion and standardization.

This problem has been considerably alleviated by the teacher-team approach: involvement of the classroom teacher in the planning process, in evaluations, and in rotation, when possible, of different good teachers before the camera. But the teacher's role *is* now changed by the new media. She is no longer as much the source of information, the fountain of wisdom. The role is more like that of mid-wife, guiding to sources, supervising *learning* rather than providing the instruction. However, encouragingly, most good teachers in an age of "new math," and new language approaches, welcome this new role and find it equally exciting. If they are good teachers, they are respected even if they don't know everything. Their job is to facilitate the *learning*, not to provide all the ammunition as well. In study after study, good projects prove that this problem can be solved.

In project after project, too, the well-trained teacher, motivated and enthusiastic, has proved to be the most effective learning aid available, transcending and over-riding media differences. Vernon found that students in the classes with better teachers learned more even when the teacher did *nothing* during the presentation. The creation of the environment and motivation to learn is a factor which reminds us that the quality of the teacher is still important. Davies, Gross and Short found the students of Teacher A preferring a lecture without either visual aids or TV; the students of Teacher B preferred TV; the students of Teacher C preferred the visual aids-aided lecture without TV.

One of the greatest weaknesses in research so far is that these differences between teachers in the compared groups are not taken into account. The need for closer control factors than have been so far applied is apparent if such research is to mean anything. And the need to win teacher support for the new media, by training and patient understanding, is likewise apparent. A negative or resentful teacher can sabotage the uses of any media. Studies under such conditions will yield low results related in no way to the medium used. The need for the introduction of the new media into the basic training of teachers, and in practice-teaching in which TV especially can provide useful observation channels, first for trainees to watch experienced teachers and later for critic teachers for the supervision of trainees, is one useful approach towards making TV and the other new media seem natural parts of the educational and teaching process.

One caution is in order in such uses, however: Teachers must be warned and trained against too slavish imitation of master teachers. Otherwise this art will become only a craft, or a skill. How then will more original teaching be promoted?

INTEREST AND ATTITUDES AS FACTORS IN LEARNING

Even in earlier references I have used interest as a factor in determining teacher or media effectiveness, and interest is important. So are pleasure and "liking." However, some of the earliest film research revealed that learning and liking depend on very different qualities of a film. At Illinois we found that students of Professor Janes, in economics, liked the TV presentations better than the face-to-face ones, and rated them as more appealing. But the face-to-face students in this case made slightly higher grades. In many cases teachers on TV who were rated most enjoyable and interesting produced less learning under comparable conditions, in captive situations, than teachers rated less pleasant or less liked. Vernon, Vander Meer, Tannenbaum, Brandon, Jorgenson and others found that programs or teachers rated most pleasant did not always or even generally, produce higher learning scores. Various tests seeking to equate learning with student attitudes toward the medium used, employing Osgood's Semantic Differential scale, and Thurstone or Guttmann attitude rating scales, revealed little relationship between attitude and learning. The same prevailed generally for teachers, although in some cases, where students flatly disliked the teacher, enough resistance was present to reduce learning. In various studies of eye contact, for both TV and film, students far preferred the teacher who seemed to be speaking directly to them, but except when lack of eye contact was accompanied by other distractions or inability to understand, eye contact did not result in higher learning. The same is noted, as mentioned earlier, in the use of feedback buttons and opportunity for questions. Students preferred this method but learned no more. More refined research in this area is obviously needed.

Some clues in this problem were obvious already in radio series we prepared for the Indian School of the Sky at Indiana University. Students preferred the dramatic, documentary presentations, supported by effective recorded music reinforcement and bridges, but frequently did better on tests of material learned from simple talk formats. The danger of being distracted from learning by enjoyment, or losing oneself in the rhythm of the program or lesson, is a real one which will be discussed later in connection with format selection. In much research to date adequate care has not been taken to separate learning from enjoyment or preference. This applies to both students and teachers, who often say they enjoy, or do not enjoy, teaching by TV. Our goal should be primarily learning, rather than enjoyment. And whether a given medium makes *teaching* easier or more pleasant is less relevant than the *learning* which occurs, except where teacher attitude and motivation factors become significant obstacles or incentives, outweighing other considerations.

FORMATS AND TECHNIQUES

Production approaches inherited from commercial practices aimed at entertaining and enjoyment rather than learning are a serious obstacle to effective TV, radio and film use in education. In the first TV production workshops conducted by the NAEB, most directors were commercially-oriented regarding camera use. They wanted to use several cameras, switch often, dolly in and dolly out, change lenses and so on. We had great difficulty in training them to leave the viewer in uninterrupted contact with the speaker or visual for the longer periods of time which concentrated *learning* requires. Fortunately the desired new techniques are emerging, based on solid study of which approaches are most effective for *our* purpose, which is education, rather than variety or enjoyment – although the latter cannot be entirely disregarded of course.

Cobin and McIntyre found that students, bent on learning, themselves *preferred* simple production techniques, such as continuing close-ups, to a variety of shorter, rapidly-changing shots. It appears that a new type of enjoyment, based on the satisfaction of learning better, can be developed when the individual seeks learning, rather than entertainment. Even at the eighth grade level, Blain found students learned more from simple expository than from dramatic narration formats. Since learning depends upon activating the individual with proper cues in order to bring about desired attitudes or behavior, irrelevant cues, or an over-abundance of them, may obstruct rather than facilitate learning. For this reason cheap pencil or blackboard sketches, which do not distract from the desired focus of attention, have repeatedly proved to be at least as effective as the most expensive films, graphics or the use of color. In fact, then, the most significant findings indicate the desirability of simplicity and directness, although this generalization must be modified depending upon whether the desired audience is a captive audience in a classroom, or a "free" audience. In the latter case humor or dramatic format may serve the useful purpose of keeping the desired viewer present, or attracting him in the first place. Once he is attracted, the continuation of entertainment cues or the generation of responses irrelevant to learning, such as laughter or anxiety, are likely to distract from learning. Much care needs to be taken, therefore, in interpreting results to be sure they relate to the specific situation *you* will be working in. In some cases a compromise format, with some so-called showmanship attraction, may be the best solution applicable under the circumstances, even though it would be far less effective for a captive audience.

This does not mean that production must be unimaginative or dull. Camera angles, for example, can be of great importance. Armed Services studies revealed that the recruit learned manual skills, such as assembling guns, better when he could see the demonstration from the angle from which he would see the object in assembling or handling it. Rather than watching a demonstration from the front (180° angle) as he would watch an instructor opposite him, in other words, tests have proved the value of camera angles which put him "in the driver's seat" where he would sit or stand while *doing* the operation. These are unique advantages which TV and film offer as opposed to the "mirror-image" view with which the student is frequently unable to cope. Similar findings with regard to lighting principles and the use of proper non-distracting or re-enforcing backdrops (limbo versus sets) have been explored in interesting studies by Tannenbaum, Fosdick and others. Such research is not in the luxury class. Its findings often may make the difference between significant learning and little or no learning.

One of the problems deserving equal attention is how complete and finished to make a given presentation. An old Austrian professor whom I respect used to tell us that the best teacher is the one who is best at "leaving out." If nothing is left for him to do, the student's active learning effort is partly frustrated. This is the basis of the philosophy of one of the most original thinkers of our generation, Canadian Marshall McLuhan, who uses the term "high definition" to describe what leaves little for the viewer to do — making for good relaxed entertainment — and "low definition," which challenges the viewer or hearer to complete it. Educators would do well to emphasize low definition even though this runs counter to the slick and enjoyable commercial TV and Hollywood-type approaches we are inclined to identify with pleasure and excellence. After viewing several such slick productions, a student of a friend of mine, John Henderson of Purdue University, protested that the "utter perfection" of the films distracted him from what he was trying to learn. This confirms a finding reported by Lumsdaine that a simple $1500 film resulted in as much learning as a $28,000 color one.

Some studies have even explored the value of "spot announcements" and "singing commercials" as formats for learning. More research might still be done on these, though Vander Meer concluded from his studies in 1953 that singing commercials were more expensive and obviously more unusual than traditional formats, but resulted in no more learning than cheaper and simpler approaches.

I am sorry that most valid research has so few simple answers to offer. This is particularly true in answer to the question: what length program or film is most effective? The answer: it all depends . . . The attention span of a first-grader is shorter than that of a high school student, generally. Better students have usually been found to have longer attention spans than slower students. A subject like art may well profit from a longer program than a subject like French, which requires a series of intense concentrations on difficult problem-points. Children who watch lots of TV, and are conditioned to interrupting commercials, seem, very tentatively, to have shorter attention spans than children who read more, or see more movies than TV. Attention span, like skills, is developed by practice and use. Research your problem. Then decide.

Similar problems exist in deciding whether to use still or moving pictures. For many kinds of concentration and analysis, stills are obviously better. For analysis of function or motion, movies are better. But not always. It all depends!

Similarly, how long should the units or steps be in a presentation? Maccoby, Sheffield and Lumsdaine have tried long and short steps, splicing in thought-provoking questions in some and not in others. All are best in the proper situation. No simple answer is possible. In a general way, however, the findings of Blancheri have considerable relevancy. He found that members of a group which alternately learned and practiced short steps (nine steps about five minutes each) did their lab work in less time than those who viewed the whole demonstration before practicing. Hence the desirability of start-stop short sequence film equipment for numerous uses.

In sequencing and paired-associates studies, researchers have tested whether the best sequence is word-picture or picture-word. There *is* a best way for a given situation. But findings of different scholars contradict each other because what is taught, to whom, and under what circumstances are all variables that can't be controlled when experiments are conducted under such widely varying conditions or in different school systems.

How large a picture or screen is best? Here again: a large picture is fine for some things. But a large picture or wide screen is poor, or virtually worthless, if the learning calls for concentrating on a certain significant point, detail or action. The eye can encompass only small points at a time and it may be distracted by the irrelevant part of the picture at the very moment the critical function to be observed happens.

In animation, cartoons, or diagrams, how complete should they be? How many details or visuals are essential, and at what point does their proliferation bog the viewer down in too much detail? As we go along we are finding that visuals as barren of detail as possible usually best aid in learning. In general a good rule seems to be emerging: never use a Mack Truck or a Rolls Royce for something which a Volkswagen or even a bicycle may do much more easily and clearly.

But I said that there is room for production imagination. There is. Voorhies experimented with the simultaneous use of three TV cameras, each viewable on a separate receiver. He found that for the learning involved in his experiment, these were better than fewer cameras and sets. At the University of Illinois in Theoretical and Applied Mechanics, split screen uses of TV enable students to see meters and equipment which is far away in another building, side by side on the screen, simultaneously. In this way TV can bring together for comparison objects far apart in space. Pop-in arrows, pointing devices and high-light beams all offer new opportunities which imaginative procedures are invited to explore. Neither film nor television needs to be "just a picture."

MULTI-SENSORY VERSUS SINGLE-CHANNEL USES

In their Editor's Introduction to the *Year Book of Education 1960* (p. 12) Bereday and Lauwerys write: "It is often assumed, quite simply, that communication through more than one sense organ is in some sense better than communication through only one. For example, that television is better than sound-audio, sound-film than silent film, and that Aldous Huxley's Smellies and Feelies would be still better. Similarly, it is often believed that, of necessity, moving film is superior to stills; a solid globe to a flat map; a living animal to a stuffed one, and the latter to a drawing." The entire volume they edit, fortunately, challenges this view. But let's explore this problem a little further, for I'm sure many of you may be convinced that more is better.

Have you ever tried to concentrate on seeing something under a microscope? Do sound or music help? A little guidance does perhaps. But have you ever caught yourself "waving down" speakers or other distractions so you could *see* better? Or closed your eyes so you could *hear* something better? Of course stereo is better than mono – for enjoyment. But when you're trying to follow a score for one of the voices or instruments? Hasn't much that you've *learned,* rather than enjoyed, been via single sense-by-sense probing from which other senses only distract? The senses are not like single separate boxes in the nervous system. They are synchronized and inter-connected in a central switchboard. The impact of one can destroy that of the other as well as re-enforce it, if it is out of phase, or irrelevant, or simultaneously distracting.

Hartman cites over a hundred studies on single versus multiple channel communication. More aren't always better. In fact, rarely. TV's and film's greatest strengths may not be *always* at their best in simultaneous combination uses. There are useful solo functions that can be performed which are sometimes better than full orchestra. In case after case, Hartman and others have found the addition of pictorial content has *reduced* learning through the ears, or even from captions, and vice versa. The most interference seems to occur in *three* channel presentations: audio, print, pictorial. These interfere with each other more often than they re-enforce each other, simultaneously used. Our senses can't cover that many bases at once. Experiment after experiment has revealed that at best adding a third, and sometimes a second, channel usually did not *advance* learning and at worst it seriously *interfered* with learning. Hoban and Van Ormers' survey in 1950 found visual plus aural is usually better than the *poorer* of these two media, and sometimes better than either, but often the two are not as effective as the best alone.

Films which are not entirely congruent in their visual and sound, when there is a deviation, tend to teach what is *said,* rather than what is shown. Why, then, use two channels unless necessary? Surely education cannot afford a wastage comparable to that of commercial TV, for example, in which TV, under the lash of competition, does everything, including what it does badly and more inefficiently than other media could do.

In some cases where TV or films, or both, have proved superior, is it because TV, for example, did all things simultaneously, or is it rather because most of the time it made skillful one-at-a-time use of sound, print, pictures and motion, so students could "field" the impressions adequately? This is the rational way. Advertising and commercial entertainment, of course, seek to overwhelm by multi-sensory assaults which bypass rationality (Hayakawa). In this way you find yourself buying things you don't in the least need, and never really wanted, and doing other irrational things.

Here again, however, many of the experiments I report have been in captive viewer situations. Sometimes it may be important to hold or attract with a picture so you can *tell* the student something. In a general way, however, words (spoken or printed) seem better for conveying knowledge *about* things, and generalizing, whereas pictures give better knowledge *of* things (real acquaintance, experience) and seem better at particularizing. This is the value of audio plus visual media. This is why we must learn more about the proper orchestration of all these media, allowing for solos where solos are needed. After all a symphony plays full volume only a relatively small portion of the time. TV and film: please copy.

In brief, cues from different modalities, used simultaneously, may either facilitate (re-enforce) or interfere with (block) each other. Our need is for more research to determine the proper mix, for all too often they are getting in each other's way.

MOTIVATION

One of the most common learning theories is the one (Miller) which says that learning requires and involves *motivation* (drive), stimulus (cue), participation (response) and reward (re-enforcement). The student is more likely to learn if he is curious, needs the information offered to solve a problem, wants to win recognition or approval, and so on. A teacher who appears bored or negative, or parents or a community which give low values to learning, can greatly reduce the motivation of students. The problem often is to stimulate the proper learning but not undesired, irrelevant or improper learning (violence, delinquency etc.). Good motivation, in a good educational environment, will cause a student to *want* to learn what is *taught*. Motivations vary greatly for different socio-economic groups, different schools, different classes, and different individuals. This is why it is so dangerous to generalize too widely from the results of projects in the same subject or format: the motivational situation may be wholly non-comparable. I shall have more to say about the motivations supplied by the commercial mass media, as a national community problem, later. At present, let's look at a few sample motivations relevant in the classroom.

In teaching sewing by TV, it has been repeatedly discovered that poorer girls – often Negro children – learn more than children in higher socio-economic classes. This cuts across geographical areas and age groups. It would be easy to draw several wrong conclusions from these findings: to conjecture, for example, that such students are more manual or trade-skills oriented. A more valid one, however, would seem to be that these students *need* this skill more than more advantaged students, because of the economic necessity to make their own clothes. *Need* is a powerful motivation. A depression might result in greater nation-wide learning of such skills, not because they would then be better taught, but because they would then be more greatly *needed*.

Strevell and Toffel, in projects involving Negro students, found that the Negro students frequently made significantly more gain than white students of the same IQ or rated ability in instructional television classes. Although many white schools would not participate in the Toffel experiment, he found Negro students in ITV classes made higher scores than those not using ITV. But students of highest ability, regardless of race, did best in the face-to-face classes, though lower-ability students, regardless of race, did better in ITV classes. But questions arise which must be answered before we can generalize: What kind of teachers were available to each, both for motivation and follow-through? More experiments with under-privileged groups (Puerto Ricans, Negroes, etc.) are needed. However, there is here a hint that ITV may be a most useful tool to help equalize opportunities in poor areas, and to help soften some of the difficult problems of desegregation. The national motivation climate would seem to encourage such uses.

Anxiety or tension is a frequently used motivation. A certain amount of anxiety does seem to provide beneficial drives. But several Australian studies and those of Ruesch and Prestwood raise some cautions. Too much anxiety and tension repeatedly resulted in making the listener-viewer upset and tense, frequently to the point of causing quarreling or violence. In safety education too, a lower degree of anxiety arousal proved better than too high a degree, based often on excessively gruesome pictures of accidents and wrecks. There is a danger that the target individual may be scared into rather than out of trouble, if anxiety is overdone.

In the years ahead, when competition among students is likely to be high as they compete for college entrance, some of the consequences of over-anxiety are likely to show up in disciplinary problems. New media planners may need to counter-balance anxiety with more re-assurance if serious problems are to be avoided.

PARTICIPATION AND FEEDBACK

One of the strongest motivations available for learning is a sense of success. With the new media, in combination with teaching machines, we have the tools to provide knowledge of results more quickly than ever before. It is fortunate that such instruments became available at about the same time as ITV, which, by itself, is so notoriously a one-way medium. Many of Skinner's principles regarding the advantage of testing, problem by problem, as quickly as possible, have equal applicability to film, radio and TV uses. Many studies available reveal considerable advantages of combining practice, or drill, *during* the showing of visual aids, rather than delaying to the end of a longer presentation.

But some problems exist. Note-taking, as a form of participation, or the filling in of blanks, has frequently resulted in less learning than occurred in classes taking no notes. But this cannot be generalized. In some cases this only means that the pace was too fast for the student to both view and solve problems at the same time. For such situations, radio or audio recordings alone offer advantages over visual media which distract from what is heard. If the latter are used, the pace must be much slower and pauses must be built in. For the learning of Russian reading (not speaking) however, Grosslight and McIntyre found that groups in which the words were pronounced aloud inhibited learning as compared to visual-only presentation. Here again, which is the distracting channel depends on what the lesson seeks to accomplish.

Ever since educational or instructional television has begun to be used, users have tried to devise feedback channels whereby students can ask or signal the TV teacher to explain unclear points in the presentation. Pushbuttons have also been used to register highest positive *interest*, in order to guide planning of subsequent presentations. Unfortunately, as Twyford found, though these register interest, they do not adequately register achievement or learning, which is the primary goal. Woodward found that a group with pushbuttons did better than a control group viewing a program in which no push-button feedback was used. But a group viewing the push-button feedback presentation, but without access itself to a push-button signal system, did as well as the group equipped with the buttons. Apparently, from several studies, the need to push the buttons itself is a slight distraction. The numerous program-analyzer systems which have been devised, since they measure principally interest rather than learning, are less effective than teaching machines with drill push buttons used during breaks or after the presentation. TV needs the help of other devices if this feedback-participation function is to be realized.

Since "no significant difference" has so often been the conclusion of studies with feedback systems, whether involving microphones, telephones or other devices, Hagerstown has abandoned efforts to achieve such immediate feedback for ITV, relying on the evaluations that come in a few days later. On the basis of these, a good instructor can usually build into the revision, for *next* time, clarifications of points not clear in the earlier presentation. "Trial-run" presentations, on this basis, may be desirable. As for immediate question-asking, the Hagerstown report has concluded: "The disruptive question is not asked because all questions must wait." Some questions, deliberately left for the classroom teacher and discussion to cover, may so far be the most desirable solution to this problem where teaching-machine complements to TV are not used, or in specific situations where they are not found desirable. Certainly TV lessons are not generally adequately utilized unless some such follow-through occurs.

For the sort of re-enforcement of learning which feedback and participation attempt to provide, *repetition* is often effective. Driscoll, in a study with mentally retarded children found that the scores of students who saw the same film twice were significantly higher than those of students who saw the film only once. Frequency of exposure, within limits, increases the likelihood of message units being effective. I said "within limits" because of the danger of extinction of effects from boredom and other negative adaptations. Repetition is likely to be least effective generally for experienced or mature adults, and most effective for children, particularly slow learners. Repetition in mixed groups, however, may adversely affect fast learners. There is no easy law of repetition effectiveness. As in so many cases, it all depends . . .

For all these considerations race and sex, or sometimes even class-level, are less important than differences in socio-economic status. The results of studies at School X will be applicable or useful to School Y only if carefully analyzed and considered. This requires people qualified to interpret and apply findings.

COLOR

There is no question but that color is essential for certain things. In surgical demonstrations, for example, where veins must be distinguished from arteries and tissues identified, absence of color would be a serious handicap. However, this type of distinction is needed in relatively few general educational courses. In the vast majority of cases, as Kanner has said, there is "no evidence that color offers any advantage for learning." Vander Meer and his colleagues found that students preferred color, but that there was little correlation between preferring and learning. May and Lumsdaine concluded that "color in some places in a film may facilitate learning – in other places it may *inhibit* learning." On the basis of solid research, although color is pleasanter and more inviting (which may be a factor as a motivation), the value of color for learning has been greatly over-rated.

In his studies in South Africa, Hudson concluded: "The hypothesis that color film improves performance is rejected." Fullerton *et al* found the scores of guidance students in black and white groups "significantly higher" than students in the color group on both the immediate and delayed post-tests, as noted by MacLennan and Reid, although Vander Meer found in some instances that color reduced the rate of forgetting.

In psychological studies of the effect of color, it has been found to be an important factor for securing and holding interest. However, it has occasionally proved *too* effective in this respect, riveting attention to the exclusion of learning, and sometimes resulting in more intoxication and hypnotic effects than discriminatory ones, which are important to education.

If funds are available, Kretsinger has suggested, it may be more essential to devote them to securing higher-definition black-and-white quality, which is an important factor. In many projects color has reduced desired definition and contrast to a significant degree, and has provided distracting elements when judged by purely learning and discrimination criteria.

At the present stage of development, therefore, the conclusion seems to be that the advantages of color for general use are not yet demonstrated, and that it therefore cannot be justified economically except for limited, specific uses where it will be better rather than poorer than black and white.

SEVERAL PROBLEMS WHICH NEED ATTENTION

Although the problems listed here (selected from a host which might be mentioned) have little in common, I would like to share them with you.

1. Misuse or misinterpretation of results. Like program ratings in commercial broadcasting, which have many flaws, the research cited here, in general, leaves much to be desired. But one of the greatest dangers lies in its over-generalization or mis-application. How are results to be compared when even the noise of the projector used is a factor? McGrane found in one study that at the lowest projector noise level, the film group was superior to the TV group. With only medium noise there was no significant difference. With a noisy projector, the TV group rated superior. Many may plan changes in schools, to TV or film or radio, when it was not the medium but the *teacher*, or some other factor, that made the difference.

What are "conventional" methods? In some schools teachers conventionally use visual aids. Some use one text, some another, and some none. Some teachers use them badly and some well. In all too many cases researchers are not qualified. Variables are not controlled, or even noted. Morale, acoustics, distractions, socio-economic differences, lighting, ventilation, climate, season, *time of day, freshness or fatigue of class, screen size and distance*, angle from screen or TV set, clarity of instruction, motivation — all are factors which make generalizations hazardous.

Hayman found that students in the center of a room, viewing TV, made significantly higher scores than students along the sides. Ash and Jaspen found learning as good as or better than face-to-face teaching for students within a certain angle and distance from the set, while students outside this perimeter learned little. One of our problems, therefore, is to get better studies, and not to draw unjustified conclusions from studies with so many concealed differences.

2. Inadequate testing. Most results have been measured by tests designed for print learning. How are the learning effects of TV to be forced into such a pattern?

Many tests are based on what students (or teachers) *think* of a program or lesson. The fallacy of believing what children *say* is illustrated by studies in Sweden, as reported by Australian scholar Gordon Mirams: "Contrary to common belief many cartoons and Tarzan-like films frighten very young children; some cried and tried to leave the cinema, others had nausea, and parents later reported cases of bedwetting and nightmares. Yet the same children said they thought the films funny and at first refused to admit they were scared." Experiments by Mary Field and other film scholars have found infra-red photographs of children, while viewing, often more reliable indicators than subjective measures. Our testing approaches need to be greatly improved, for obviously many intangibles are not now being reported.

3. The anti-educational effects of much commercial fare. These effects are of several kinds. Teachers and producers imitate the techniques of commercial entertainment uses. We have lost several years trying to break these habits. Good entertainment techniques – and not all we see are good even by those standards – are not the best for education. The prettiest teacher may produce more enjoyment – and distraction – than learning.

More importantly, the popular image of the teacher in the commercial media is usually a caricature. The pedant, the old maid make good jokes. They create little respect for teaching. Respected and admired stars daily engage in behavior which *countermands the goals of education (Hayakawa)*.

In many content studies, documentation has been provided of ways in which commercial broadcasting contradicts and subverts the lessons of education. Spending is taught rather than saving; waste rather than conservation; show people rather than scientists; educators or artists are shown as heroes to be imitated; emotional rather than rational bases of decisions are urged; violence and do-it-yourself justice is shown as faster and frequently preferable to due process, and so on.

The analogy may be unfair: but is the environment for education not as seriously affected by such elements as the environment of a school building is by its surroundings? How tolerable are taverns, shooting, or fields of weeds surrounding educational facilities? One of the problems, then, cannot be solved in the schools, but only in the community – in pressing for sounder electronic environment and less harmful electronic fallout. The Hagerstown report says two important things about these problems. First: "The ideas that foster conformity do not come from television. They come from those who use it." And secondly, Hagerstown found children, conditioned by commercial uses, "just sitting, watching something happen." The report adds: "It required time to accomplish this change in viewing habits." Parents and organized groups can help the schools enormously with this problem.

4. The need for training in TV and pictorial perception and discrimination. *Practice* in learning from given media results in the development of the *ability* to learn from them. It took Hagerstown a year. But their level is still not high enough.

Learning to learn from TV and films is as specific and trainable a skill as learning to read. The untrained foreigner at a sports event sees little. The student first looking through a microscope is baffled until he learns to put the strange shapes into perspective. Africans watching films on insect control, with magnification to fill the whole screen, remarked: "We'd be frightened of mosquitoes, too, if we had them that big." We see what we are trained to see. Teachers and producers cannot trigger students with cues to learning if the students are not trained to recognize these cues. We need courses in TV and film "reading" at least as badly as we need courses in reading print. Eye-movement projects are relevant to the development of such skills. In this fast-changing world the greatest contribution that can be made is training children to learn. Many will need to be re-trained when their jobs are automated out of existence. Teaching modes of attack, avoidance of error, analysis, discrimination and principles of transfer, as outlined by Postman, are essential if tomorrow's citizens are to *remain* educated, once they leave school. This training will help create a generation of more critical and informed viewers for commercial as well as educational media.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

By now you must have discovered that what I have been talking about, all along, is the need for knowledge of learning theory and its analytical application, if these new media are to be properly used.

At a meeting late last year of the Council of Chief State School Officers, Dr. Francis A. J. Ianni of the U. S. Office of

Education noted the directions from which the principal pressures on the schools are coming. Among them he emphasized:

1. The explosion of knowledge, which threatens to make much of *what* schools now teach obsolete (not merely *how* they teach).
2. Recent advances in learning theory which stress the urgent importance of *early childhood* experiences, individual differences, and the realization that we have hardly scratched the surface of man's ability to learn.
3. Technological change, which creates new occupations and makes old ones obsolete overnight, thereby demanding new skills, new professions and new means of training.

How well are we using our new media to meet these new pressures? How *new* are such programs as "new math"? A year ago the International Conference on Modern School Mathematics was held in Athens, Greece, sponsored by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The report of the proceedings of this conference is now available from McGraw-Hill, as edited by Dr. Howard F. Fehr, Chairman of the Department of Mathematical Education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

The conference of forty-seven experts from around the world looked at mathematics education around the world. In its analysis of the "new math" in the U. S. it found that we have merely updated the traditional program, keeping the same old sequence: arithmetic, geometry, more algebra, trigonometry and so on. There must be a recognition that the simple updating of a traditional program and sequence, merely injecting modern concepts and treatments into the same curriculum, is hardly a "new math." What is needed is a *new* program, based on a total reconstruction of the curriculum. Our new arsenal of miracle instruments now makes such breaks with the past possible. Where do we find *such* projects, involving the total administration of schools? Do most of the projects not look more like projects "dreamed up" by amateur researchers in order to get a grant, and emphasizing merely methodology, new gadgets and gimmicks, how to save teachers and space, and so on?

And what is the quality of even this research? After his careful and scholarly survey in depth of new media research, Lumsdaine (in Gage) refers to ". . . the morass of ambiguity and inconsistency which has led some, including the writer, to wonder whether it is worth doing experiments until some basis for achieving comparable sensitivity from experiment to experiment is achieved. . . . In the absence of suitable, uniformly applicable criteria of experimental sensitivity, it is nearly impossible to know just how bad it (the situation of educational media research) is." I know these are strong words. But after my own review of thousands of studies, I must generally endorse them. It *is* a disheartening picture. There are too few significant studies. The lack of a tradition of solid learning research in the schools for the last hundred years has left us unprepared. There should be hundreds of professional researchers, with proper training and disciplines. There are hardly any qualified to do both communications and educational research.

The effectiveness with which the potential of each of the media we now have available is realized depends on the identification of desired objectives and the application to these objectives of their unique powers, each at the proper time, in the proper manner, in proper combination or alone. We now have a whole orchestra of instruments. We need trained arrangers and conductors who don't use drums where violins are needed. The best device is the one that, for the task at hand, best does the needed and the relevant, without introducing irrelevant factors which cancel or distract. This is no easy job. It requires the kind of specialist we must now begin to develop: the instructional media communications specialist. If we don't meet this need, the tools, and what they can most easily or flashily do, will determine what is done in the schools of America. This is wrong. Goals must be set first, and they must be set by the *total* educational need, structure, and administration. This is not a job for audio-visual experimenters. Those in the ivory tower must come down and help, until we know we're even doing the proper things for our age. Then the whole battery of specialists can take over again. Unless this is done, these instruments will be the masters rather than the servants of education and educational policy. Once goals are set, significant research can be done. It will have direction.

Hypotheses then can be developed, with valid systems of testing them. Experiments will include matched groups, so control and experimental groups are really comparable – rather than testing one class, with unknown characteristics, against another.

Class-to-class and school-to-school differences are now so great as to invalidate much of the research at hand. Re-tests must be used before results are published. A single experiment rarely proves anything. Materials, teachers and other environmental factors must be objectively recorded, so comparability means something. Studies will need to restrict themselves to measurement of factors that can be controlled and really measured so differences will be genuinely significant and generalizable. Then great care must be taken in the application of findings, if we are to avoid the shortcomings found in the commercial media application of ratings. Lumsdaine has spelled out the qualities needed for research to be valid. But first and most important, there must be the development and training of a generation of research workers, and more communication among them. WE NEED A TRULY NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH CENTER AND PROGRAM AT LEAST AS BADLY AS WE NEED A NATIONAL CULTURAL CENTER.

This call for a new profession is not a new one. Lasswell outlined this need at an NAEB convention nearly twenty years ago. He has refined his suggestions in an article in *Audio-Visual Communication Review* in 1958, which I have listed.

This development has been held back somewhat by jealousies and schisms among audio-visual personnel, educational broadcasters, teachers, administrators, educationists, and other groups. The climate is now right for this development, except for the presence and interest of upper-echelon educators in greater numbers at the policy level. The approach needed will promote no one instrument or interest. It will involve learning and communication theory, cutting across all media and disciplines equally, though stressing the visual and aural arts and media, integrated with teaching machines, programmed learning, and new uses of the older print and verbal fields. Our sights must be lifted from research into any one instrument, into more concern for the totality of learning behavior and the learning process, as Schramm has put it. The "systems" approach to education is now needed. And we must not be awed by this term. It is not a complicated concept. Digestive *systems* or telephone *systems* are simply an organized integration of parts functioning together. We have the parts. We must now put them together properly, and use them under proper supervision and coordination.

I do have two or three additional suggestions, before closing, which may be somewhat controversial. First, as I earlier remarked, I believe too much of our research has been of too little social significance. It is pretty hard to get the community and the nation excited about head-of-a-pin type studies of purely methodological interest to only very specialized groups. I believe it would bring the schools back into a more respected relationship with the rest of the nation, and our problems, if more studies were related to more important national problem areas.

Let me illustrate. The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 is aimed at reducing unemployment. This Act provides for research and study grants for projects to help produce solutions to such problems.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is aimed at developing programs for creating opportunities for re-employment with new skills of people whose jobs are automated out of existence. I once got into a controversy over our policy of economic foreign aid, when I challenged the desirability of introducing into nations with large unemployed populations, like India, of labor-saving devices. I urged that labor-using approaches, stressing individual crafts and arts might be usefully tried. This runs counter to our industrialized orientation, I know, but I believe education might take the lead in stressing approaches based on individual differences and talents. Many experiments could involve such areas rather than merely the traditional language, math, science, home economics and other such fields.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 earmarked ten percent of its 1964 appropriation of $180 million for research, demonstration, and pilot studies. How many new media research projects have helped with this problem?

The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 calls for research, development and demonstration projects in all phases of urban mass transportation. Opportunities for new media uses in the promotion of auto safety and a score of other problems are obvious. To what extent are schools helping?

The Housing Act of 1964 calls for "programs which will provide special training in skills needed for economic and efficient community development for those technical and professional people who are, or are training to be, employed by a governmental or public body responsible for community development." Can the new media not help here?

The Mental Retardation Act of 1963 aims to assist schools to attack the problem of mental illness "through various approaches." Are the new media not among the possible approaches to this problem, with the need for training (or re-training) teachers, speech correctionists, sight and hearing specialists, and so on?

And the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (the Anti-Poverty Act) would seem to be relevant. Is poverty not deeply related to education and motivation of the kind that the new media could help with?

I list these few such programs not merely as possible sources of funds. Research so far has already been too limited by what foundations or the government would give funds for. I name them rather for the purpose of identifying *some* areas in which new media research could be applied without too seriously affecting their findings, but which would make these studies more socially relevant. Would the community not eventually find such research well worth supporting?

One other wasteland I must mention. I am not the first individual, looking over results of significant communications research in our great nation, to be amazed at the virtual absence of support of such research by RCA, CBS, ABC, GE, AT&T, Eastman, *Time-Life* and others who earn millions each year from communications and education. The automobile industry has supported driver-training programs. Publishers and newspapers have supported training programs in the print-media. Even the tobacco industry is now devoting millions to research. If the broadcast industry and networks would devote a small fraction of what they devote to public relations and market research to psychological and educational research – the effects of color, graphics, new devices for the schools and so on – the schools would be stronger and our nation's future brighter. I think such support is overdue.

Meanwhile, don't quit. And don't wait. I mentioned at the beginning that I personally believe that some of the most significant experimentation is going on without grants, and mentioned a Purdue project. There are probably scores of others. But let me explain this one.

Dr. Sam Postlewait, Professor of Biological Sciences, with a minimum of expense and a maximum of imagination, has designed a systems approach which involves virtually all the media I have sought to report on. It involves student access to thirty booths in which audio tapes of the lectures are available for playing, replaying, backing up, and stopping, with visuals, films and other resources at hand, including microscopes, slides and so on. In an adjoining room are display tables with those items, including live models, colorometers, etc., of which only one of each is available. Fifty percent less material is needed than was previously used, less equipment and lab space is needed, the same number of teachers are employed, the number of A's given has risen from an average of seven to twenty, the number of failures has fallen from twenty to twelve, and the whole course is now restructured. The goals of the course dictate the methods. The tools do not dictate what is taught, for all tools are available. The teacher is a guide-tutor. The tutorial system is re-instituted by use of the new media. The department saved $1400 the first year by this vastly improved approach. Eastern Michigan and Penn State, with similar approaches, are having similar results. Small colleges in the South have asked for the materials, and Sam Postlewait's supervision. They will soon be giving as good a course in introductory biology as Purdue.

Admittedly this has not restructured the entire science program. That cannot be done by one department or man. But this step has provided clues for future restructuring. Meanwhile, using imagination instead of grants, science education is vastly better at Purdue and will soon be far better in many other places.

Such research and development must now be accepted by the schools as essential. They are part of a continuing process of experimentation and innovation which the new media make possible. But they cannot succeed if only audio-visual or radio-TV people are involved. They must include the entire school: administration and teachers, as well as researchers. The excitement and usefulness of such studies can also vastly help arouse community interest and support. Many of them can be televised and demonstrated for all to see.

I'm sorry I couldn't make the picture I have presented both simpler and easier. But these are tough times. The challenge offered by the new tools is the greatest one education has faced since the invention of printing. We must learn to live with change, as never before. And this is not easy. I'm sure I'm too close to these rapid developments to enable me to present an overview that is adequate and balanced. In a few years a better analysis will be possible. But for now, that's the picture.

And my apologies for the length of this paper. As a famous Frenchman once said: "I didn't have time to make it shorter."

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CHAPTER 5

Mass Communication and Political Science

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One approach to political science is the study of communication. Politics is, after all, a process of interpersonal influence. "Interpersonal influence" is also a possible definition for communication. So these two things are closely interrelated. A political science book is also likely to be a communication study whenever its approach focuses on the process rather than the outcome of political interaction. If it focuses on how people influence each other rather than what they get out of doing so it is communication study as well as a political science one.

Studies of politics of a kind that could be included in a bibliography on communication start with the ancient Greeks. Among the classic studies are Plato's *Gorgias,* which considers morality in propaganda; Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* and John Stuart Mill's *System of Logic* (1846) which analyze the structure of persuasive argumentation; Lenin's *What is to be Done* (1902), a large part of which is devoted to a discussion of the role that an all-Russian newspaper might play in the revolutionary politics of the Bolsheviks; Milton's *Areopagitica* and Mill's *On Liberty* (1885) which consider the systematic effects of permitting freedom of expression in communication; Dicey's *The Development of Law and Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century* (1905) which considers the effects of the ideological context on public actions; Marx's *German Ideology* (1832), and Sorel's *Reflections on Violence* and Pareto's *The Mind and Society* which distinguish the social function from the truth value of beliefs.

While all of these are books on communication, only some of the most recent ones (e.g. Lenin's *What is to be Done*) focus on mass communication as such. The growth of mass media to the point where they dominate the communication system of society is a phenomenon of recent times. Every society has some communication system, for man is a communicating animal; but only in the last century have we had the emergence of an extraordinary phenomenon — societies organized around mass media systems.

The growth of mass media has had many profound effects on the quality of life. With the growth of the mass media there have also arisen exaggerated beliefs in the efficacy of the propaganda. A number of factors are responsible for the myth of the all-powerful propagandist. In the period after World War I the extreme right in Germany, unwilling to admit that their nation had been defeated in battle, proposed the myth that German victory had been snatched away from the soldiers by civilian acceptance of Allied propaganda. This belief in a "Schwindel" led to much writing about the supposed magical powers of propaganda.

In the United States advertising and public relations men were disseminating the same illusions since overestimation of propaganda was often useful in selling their own services. Popular writers who have believed their claims have written books about the vast powers of *"The Hidden Persuaders."*[1]

The fallacy in the belief in all-powerful propaganda is brought home forceably whenever we ourselves are committed to the side of the propagandist and wish he could succeed better. An obvious example is civic education. Various studies, for example one by NORC on the effects of a United Nations week in Cincinnati, have emphasized the obvious fact that Herculean efforts seem to have but trivial results in raising the level of education and awareness among the citizen body.[2]

A key question about the role of mass communications in politics is just how effective are they? A large literature has been devoted to this question. One excellent book is Joseph Klapper's *The Effects of Mass Communication.*[3] It summarizes a great deal of what we know. Among the major primary studies one might list the various works of Carl Hovland[4] and the election studies by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and others.[5]

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[1] V. O. Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*. New York: D. McKay Co., 1957.

[2] National Opinion Research Center, *Cincinnati Looks Again*, Report 37A. Chicago: NORC, 1948 (mimeo).

[3] J. N. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, Cf. also A. Hero (ed.), *Studies in Citizen Participation in International Relations*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1959-1961.

[4] C. I. Hovland, H. H. Kelley, and I. L. Janis, *Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954; C. I. Hovland, "Reconciling Conflicting Results Derived from Experimental and Survey Studies of Attitude." *The American Psychologist*, XIV:1. Pages 8-17. (1959).

Let us summarize some of the evidence and some of the conclusions. Both carefully controlled surveys of voters and impressionistic reviews of recent history show that in this country few votes are switched by the mass media in Presidential campaigns. From 1932 for a substantial number of years the American press was overwhelmingly pro-Republican in every campaign. President Roosevelt frequently castigated what he called a one-party press. Yet, every time the Democrats won. Clearly that does not mean that the press has no influence on the character of American politics. If we try to catalogue the relevant effects we would note for example that most people when asked their most important source of news, have until recently always replied "the press". (TV is beginning to be competitive.) The press also has a substantial role in creating interest in political campaigns, in providing people with the information that they use as they argue among themselves, and in determining the issues. It makes a difference to American politics that newspapers carry statements by both candidates (indeed the fact that they do is one of the reasons why the views of the press have so little direct effect upon the vote) in contrast to a situation in a country like Italy where most newspapers are party-committed and hardly ever report the other side. One cannot doubt that if the mass media were non-existent or differently structured our politics would be different. The point we are trying to make is that the effects of the mass media must be conceived much more broadly than simply as persuasion of people to accept the views presented in the media. The mass media have many more subtle and complex effects both through what they say and through their existence as institutions.

An outstanding discussion of an institutional effect of the existence of a press is the argument that Lenin made for an all-Russian newspaper. Some of Lenin's opponents in the Social Democratic movement argued that to establish a newspaper under Czarist censorship was a futile activity for certainly it could not say what they, the Social Democrats, regarded as the truth. What good would it then do? Lenin argued that the mere existence of a Social Democratic controlled national newspaper in Czarist Russia would be a valuable asset politically. It would provide the basis for an organization. The paper would have to have correspondents in different parts of the country and a distribution network that would provide excuses for traveling back and forth, keeping in touch, etc. What it could say by way of marginal sniping at the regime would be helpful too. The main point, however, was that the newspaper would provide an organizational framework for conspiracy. This is an insight which has also occurred to racketeers in some American cities; they have found newspaper distribution a very convenient cover.

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[5] P. F. Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson, and A. Gaudet, *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New York: Fuell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944; A. Campbell, P. Converse, W. Miller, D. Stokes, *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley & Sons, 1960.

It is certainly not by chance that the history of development of political parties has been to a very large degree a history of the development of the press. Men who wished to create new movements typically set up newspapers to agitate and to provide what Lenin called a "collective organizer."

So if we are interested in the role of the mass media in politics we must look at many phenomena besides persuasion.

The studies of voting, particularly those by Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and colleagues,[6] have provided the most conclusive demonstration that relatively few minds are changed by an election campaign. Nonetheless these studies showed that election campaigns serve many other important functions. They define the issues on the basis of which voters decide how to vote. They mobilize voter interest and partisanship. The public is not the same at the end of a campaign as it was at the beginning even though few people have listened to the arguments and changed their minds. The public has undergone a heightening of political consciousness, a learning by each man of arguments on his own side, in most cases a rededication to the side to which he already belonged. The campaign serves an essential purpose in invigorating the politics of a democracy in which otherwise most people are apathetic most of the time.

Besides persuading people of the things being said, communication has effects on attention, on information, on audience interest, and on actions taken. Frequently a person will change his action without in any way concluding that what he previously thought to be true is false. The woman who buys a new beauty product has not been persuaded to change her beliefs; she has usually merely been informed of an opportunity to better achieve what she wanted to achieve all along.

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[6] Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, *op. cit.*; B. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, W. N. McPhee, *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.

Political scientists have paid more attention to the nonpersuasive effects of communication than have some other social scientists. Perhaps this has been because they were interested in the ideologies being communicated and their use in power politics, even where persuasion was minimal. For example, Harold Lasswell has long argued the importance of securing exact quantitative data on the distribution in the world of ideological symbols.[7] In the 1930's he initiated the use of content analysis as a device to compare political propaganda in different times and places. This research was continued at the Library of Congress during the second World War and at the Hoover Institute during the post-war years.[8] The RADIR studies at the latter institution canvassed the political symbols used in editorials in major newspapers in five countries over a sixty year period. They demonstrated such trends as a decline in attention to ideas of property and a rise in concern for welfare.

Descriptive political content analysis thus has an inherent interest of its own. It can permit a society to examine itself and see where it stands on the great controversial issues. Karl Deutsch and others have been concerned, for example, with how much attention different countries have paid to each other over time.

Political content analysis can be used for inferential as well as descriptive purposes. It can be used as a means of determining the secret strategies of power holders who are in a position to influence the mass media. It is thus a device particularly well adapted to examining the secret motives of communist and fascist dictators, for they coordinate their mass communications with their total purposes. During the war, content analysis of broadcasts was used by the BBC in England and the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service in the United States successfully to decipher many German military intentions.[9] Today Kremlinology serves the same purpose.[10] Students of Soviet affairs make note of the order in which leaders are named or the appearance or disappearance of set slogans or formulas.

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[7] H. D. Lasswell, *et al.*, *Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics*. New York: S. W. Stewart, 1949.

[8] H. D. Lasswell, D. Lerner and I. Pool, *The Comparative Study of Symbols*, 1952; Pool, Lasswell and Lerner, *et al.*, *Symbols of Internationalism*, 1951; Pool, Lasswell and Lerner, *et al.*, *The "Prestige Papers", a Survey of Their Editorials*, 1952; Pool, Lasswell and Lerner, *et al*, *Symbols of Democracy*, 1952. All: Stanford: Stanford University Press.

The fact that such analysis of Aesopian language works is testimony to the desire of the dictatorial rulers to communicate at the same time that they desire to maintain secrecy. If their wishes on secrecy and publicity were unambivalent there would be no point to Kremlinology. If they were satisfied with total secrecy they would not telescope their intentions in their mass media. If they were solely concerned with communicating they would not hide their messages in obscure formulas.

It is interesting to speculate about the specific reasons which lead the rulers of the Kremlin to engage in an *apparently* irrational pattern of behavior which ostensibly conceals but actually reveals. Like most patterns of behavior it serves not one, but several mutually reinforcing functions.

First, such behavior conforms to the traditional Bolshevik operational code.[11] The Bolshevik movement is a very conservative one which governs itself very strictly by its past practices and history. It grew up under Czarism. As revolutionary conspirators, then, the Bolsheviks had to operate in Aesopian language. They learned to convey meanings to their comrades within the Party while at the same time remaining as obscure as possible to the enemy on the outside. Though circumstances have changed and the Bolshevik elite are now the rulers of the second strongest power on earth, they still play the game of politics the way they learned it in the secret circles of an underground movement.

Secondly, they also carry with them from their revolutionary days some crippling taboos on private communication. For example the Russian government is terrified of the mimeograph machine. In their own revolutionary days the Bolsheviks used it effectively to communicate illegally and privately. They appreciate its power. So now they have elaborate rules to control it. Every main administration — say Temple University if it were in Russia — has but one central mimeograph office where all work is done. Every stencil is numbered and the number printed out on sheets produced by it. Every time a stencil is used a card recording its number, who used it, when, what for, and how many copies is recorded on the card. The cards are kept on file with the police. The net result of all of this is that getting something mimeographed is slow and cumbersome. Unless one has a high priority one will have to wait one's turn for several days or a week. As a result there is no easy way to convey information quickly and informally to "invisible colleges" of professionally associated colleagues. It often is just as easy to convey messages to such subgroups through the formal channels of the mass media, e.g. a *Pravda* article, as through a mimeographed memo.

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[9] A. L. George, *Propaganda Analysis: A Study of Interferences Made from Nazi Propaganda in World War II*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1959.

[10] W. E. Griffith, *Albania and the Sino-Soviet Rift*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1963; M. Rush, *The Rise of Khrushchev*. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1958.

[11] N C Leites, *A Study of Bolshevism*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953.

Note, however, that this is changing. Those informal media which have been invented since 1917 are under less stringent rules than those mimeographed regulations inherited from earlier days. Tape recorders can be bought without any special license and are a popular possession among the alienated (e.g., jazz-loving) youth. Photo-copying equipment currently presents a horrible dilemma to the Soviet authorities. It could dent their whole system of controls. At a recent American exhibit in the Soviet Union there was a photocopying machine available to the attendees. The Soviet press carried an angry blast at this nefarious violation of Soviet practice, for, according to the attack, people were even sticking their identification papers into the machine.

A third reason why the Russians communicate unavowable messages covertly through the open pages of their public prints is that this procedure provides a testing device as to what is allowed. If something can be said in the mass media without retribution then all readers know that it represents a legitimate position. What is said may provide a guideline to what may be discussed and a guideline as to who is in authority.

It has been said that a totalitarian society is one where whatever is permitted is required. By the rule of this joke any formula that appeared in the press would be a statement one had to make. That was the case in the worst Stalin years. Things have now changed enough to make the joke misleading. The press continues to give clues as to what are allowable statements, but allowable statements are not always required. Today any policy decision in a socialist country requires two official decisions, not one. The first decision is a decision that something is to be decided and who is to decide it. The second is to decide. This has its analogue in a free society where contemporary decision theory is increasingly noting that the recognition and identification of an issue (interest articulation in current jargon) is the most vital part of the decision process. But in a free society that is the freest, most unstructured part of the process. Anyone may identify an issue even though only specified officials may decide it. In a communist country it takes a higher level authority to identify a problem and to phrase the alternatives than to decide on one of them. Only when an issue has appeared in the press is it legitimate to talk about it, and only when a position has been presented there is it legitimate to uphold it. The recent discussion of Liebermanism is an example. The old idea of controlling Socialist production by a market was made a legitimate one to discuss when Lieberman's article appeared in the press. When the Kremlin released that matter for decision they did not know what the outcome of the discussion would be — how far Liebermanism would be permitted, which branches of industry and which factories would adopt reforms and what reforms. But until alternative positions were authorized by appearing in the press no discussion was possible.

In a communist country every decision, being so political, becomes part of the struggle for power. The fact that a formula has appeared in the press is thus not only a clue that it has been discussed and ruled allowable by the powers that be, but also a clue that its advocates were powerful enough to win this permission. It is a clue to who is on top. The analysis by Myron Rush of the rise of Khrushchev provides many examples.[12] The struggle over Stalin's succession was largely a struggle for the right to establish certain ritual formulae in the public press. One issue was the capitalization of Khrushchev's title, first secretary, or First Secretary, or as actually run in the press for a long time First secretary. Another was Stalin's title at the time of his death. These trivial issues were, of course, not the facts being fought over. The real battle that was going on behind the scenes, and with no public discussion, was over appointments to positions of power. But the press provided signals to middle echelon personnel as to who was winning. The appearance of a pro-Khrushchev formula in a published book, or in *Problems of Philosophy,* or in *Pravda* was a sign that his men had taken over enough positions of power to enable him to place the words there in safety.

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[12] M. Rush, *op. cit.*

Thus the odd combination of publicity and secrecy that characterized Soviet mass media does serve real functions in that particular political system.

Such ambivalence between secrecy and communication is not a new thing in politics. Leo Strauss in various studies has argued that most political theory is primarily Aesopian communication.[13] What we read as works of philosophy were written as tracts which for various reasons refrained from saying openly what the author had in mind.

There are many reasons why a political writer may resort to expression in the mass media while still not openly saying what he wishes to convey. It may be that he is writing for a small elite which knows how to read between the lines; he simultaneously conveys a quite different message to the naive reader. He may in his action be expressing his own irrational ambivalence about secrecy and self-expression. He may be protecting himself from prosecution under the law while at the same time carrying on an attack against authority. No complex society can function without providing ways to communicate directives and persuasion to the population at large and especially to middle echelon cadres of responsible personnel. But many societies are not prepared to admit candidly what it is that they wish to communicate.

If political propagandists often are not ready to openly say what they mean the hearer to understand, it is equally true that they often do not mean to persuade people of what they say. Practicing propagandists are generally aware that the material they put out can have many purposes besides persuading people of its truth.

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[13] L. Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes, its Basis and its Genesis.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936; *On Tyranny.* New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Ill., 1963; *Thoughts on Machiavelli.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

Psychological warfare studies illustrate this point rather clearly. Sykewar seldom seeks to convince enemy personnel that they ought to commit treason against their fatherland or adhere to the doctrines of the propagandist. When it does attempt such conversion it almost invariably fails. Psychological warfare succeeds only when its objectives are limited and the enemy forces are experiencing defeat. Under those circumstances psychological warfare can be effectively used as an instrument of further demoralization and to secure surrenders. The Nazis provided many illustrations of the use of propaganda to intimidate rather than persuade. Edmund Taylor describes how they would broadcast the enemy's menu of the day across the lines simply to prove how well informed and omnipresent they were.[14] Psychological warfare succeeds in winning surrenders as Shils and Janowitz have shown only when the primary groupings within the enemy forces have already broken up. The message then provided explains to the defeated soldier how he as an isolated *individual can save himself*. As in the advertising field, psychological warfare works when it provides factual information on the basis of which people will act to achieve their own values and preferences, not when it tries to modify values.

Perhaps the most important political effects of the mass media are not their direct effects on their particular audiences, but the systematic effects of the mere fact that they exist. The growth of the mass media has had profound effects on political participation for example. Some people argue that the media, as contributors to the mass society, have been in part responsible for the growth of alienation. Other people argue that as contributors to modernity, they have been partly responsible for the growth of participation. These two apparently contradictory views are not necessarily completely contradictory. It is conceivable that the development of the mass media and with it the growth of literacy and knowledge of public affairs initially transformed peasant subjects into participant citizens of modern societies, but that at a later state there occurred a saturation of the public with mass media messages of little personal import to the individual. His reaction to these might be to become less participant than in a society where interpersonal organizations, such as political machines, played a larger role in mobilizing people. In short, it could be argued that there is a U-shaped relationship between media development and participation. It may lead first to citizenship to be followed by alienation.

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[14] E. Taylor, *The Strategy of Terror*. New York: Pocket Books, 1942.

I doubt very much, however, whether that is the case. The argument that the mass media contribute to political alienation is not a very well supported one. It may well be that the mass media cannot serve all the functions that interpersonal organizations such as parties serve but there is no need to believe that their net effect is to undermine such organizations. On the contrary, they probably contribute to their efficacy in some respects, while indeed undermining it in others. Consider the relationship between the mass media and political machines in the United States. Radio, and even more TV, has probably significantly reduced the power of local political machines. It has certainly reduced the use of rallies and mass meetings. Since Roosevelt demonstrated with his fireside chats that it is possible for a single national leader to be in direct relationship with every citizen, the President's role as a political organizer has eclipsed that of the precinct captain. Furthermore the cost effectiveness of the mass media is far greater, than that of mere individualized campaign output, at least for getting information out. TV bills are high per hour, but they are low per person reached.

Nonetheless, the mass media have severe deficiencies in comparison with face-to-face organization. These two modes of communications serve different functions. For maximum effectiveness they must be linked together. This is something that the Soviets have long understood for they not only put out material in millions of copies of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* but they also have organized several oral agitators and provide them with arguments to be used in their speeches via a special magazine *The Agitator's Notebook* (Bloknot Agitatura).

Clearly any effective political leadership makes use of the mass media. While the organization that can best use mass media may not be the precinct machine, an examination of the activities of the national committee will show its efforts to consist of a combination of direct organization with production of material for the mass media. One of the difficulties in establishing effective party systems in newly emerging nations is indeed that the parties do not have easy access to radio, while the press does not play the role that it did in more literate societies in the days before radio and TV.

It has been demonstrated by a number of studies that the greatest political effect of propaganda is achieved by using the disseminational power of the mass media to get a message out but coupling that effort with organization to get the message acted upon. People seldom act on information received directly from the mass media alone. The voting studies have shown that personal influence is the primary determinant of major political acts such as decisions on how to vote. Katz and Lazarsfeld have coined the notion of the two-step flow of communication in which much of the information comes from the mass media, while the decision as to what to do about that information is determined in conversations with opinion leaders.[15] This is a pattern also found in the dissemination of agricultural information and in communication in various other realms too. UNESCO has conducted a series of studies of how to get peasants to adopt new practices. Their finding has uniformly been that agricultural broadcasts, whether on radio or TV, do get heard and much of the information in them gets learned, but little action to adopt the new practices takes place unless listening discussion groups are organized. A classic study of this kind was conducted in India by Neurath and Mathur.[16] Parallel villages received the radio message but in some the message was discussed and in others which served as a control, no discussion group was organized. Little difference was found between these villages in level of information but great difference in level of adoption.

Such findings raise a significant question for developing countries about their policies of control of radio. The dominant tradition of the press is one of individual freedom even if the ideal is often not lived up to. Except in communist countries and other dictatorships each person with an idea to sell has potential access to a newspaper. The commercial promotor uses the advertising columns, the political promotor establishes his own organ with its editorial columns. Radio and television, however, because of the limited channels, are in most places treated as a public utility, and either nationalized or strictly controlled. Commercialism is kept down by barring advertising. Political agitation is kept off the air by restricting partisan broadcasting to brief periods in campaigns. This restrictive policy is probably counter-productive both for the development of commerce and for the development of stable political institutions. It forces the institutions, whether they be corporations or parties, to develop without the assistance of the most effective available instrument for getting messages out. The mass media need to be linked to the most important institutions of a society if those institutions are to make their potential contribution. Mass media linked to political organizations form the basis for political development.

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[15] E. Katz and P. F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

[16] P. Neurath and J. C. Mathur, *An Indian Experiment in Farm Radio Forums*. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1959.

The intimate dependence of modern political party organization on mass media may be illustrated well by efforts to create stable politics in newly emerging nations, but it may also be illustrated by the political consequences of the growth of the mass media in the USA. In the 19th century the press and some magazines already played a significant role in this country. In the period 1800-1830 daily paper distribution was between eight and eighteen per thousand of the population – a figure comparable to that in China today and to be compared with the approximately 350 per thousand in the USA today. Small as this seems, the press was not trivial in impact any more than it is in China. It was already an instrument of political organization. However, the flow of information to individuals was slow. Much of the press consisted of weeklies, and there was nothing at all to compare with radio and television.

Political organization depended above all on personal contact, either face-to-face or in the mails. It is interesting that the name chosen for an early organization was Committees of Correspondence.

The growth of the urban political machine in the United States had many causes and so did its decline. Some of these relate to the changing communication system of the country. Among the other causes was the growth of an urban, industrial system in a society ideologically devoted to equality, democracy, and the benefit of the common man. In every society in the early phases of industrialism some system had to be found to get people to accept rewards and incentives to capital while deferring much gratification of the working man and consumer. In the United States this was done in party by the devices of bribery and organization. Industrialists and speculators paid contributions to machine bosses who in turn paid the masses of immigrant working men for their votes by job placements, social service, coal in winter, Christmas baskets, etc. The machines were built by direct personal contact of the precinct captain with those he served, and of the local boss with the captains. We have already noted that the spread of mass media contributed to the decline of the precinct captain along with the decline of local political clubs, parades, and street corner rallies. Of course, the decline of the machine was also due to the end of the need for social service, partly because of rising living standards but also because of the development of social security and social services. These other causes could, however, have destroyed the American party system altogether. Parties are not mentioned in the Constitution. If the basis of local machine organization had disappeared without the concurrent rise of mass media we might have evolved with industrialization in the direction of a bureaucratic elitist type of government or of a trade union based labor party. That neither of these things happened is due in part to the fact that the new mass media provided the old political parties with an alternative mode of organization.

One can trace many such political effects of the mass media. In 1933 William Fielding Ogburn[17] made a list of 150 effects of the then new radio. We quote the political effects he noted:

> 94. In government, a new regulatory function necessitated.
> 95. Censorship problem raised because of charges of swearing, etc.
> 96. Legal questions raised beginning with the right to the air.
> 97. New specialization in law; four air law journals existing.
> 98. New problems of copyright have arisen.
> 99. New associations created, some active in lobbying.
> 100. Executive pressure on legislatures, through radio appeals.
> 101. A democratizing agency, since political programs and speeches are designed to reach wide varieties of persons at one time.

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[17] W. E. Ogburn, "The Influence of Invention and Discovery" in *Recent Social Trends in the United States: Report of the Presidential Committee on Social Trends*, Vol. 1. New York: McGraw Hill, 1933. Pages 122-165.

102. Public sentiment aroused in cases of emergencies like drought.
103. International affairs affected because of multiplication of national contacts.
104. Rumors and propaganda on nationalism have been spread.
105. Limits in broadcasting bands foster international arrangements.
106. Communication facilitated among belligerents in warfare.
107. Procedures of the nominating conventions altered somewhat.
108. Constituencies are kept in touch with nominating conventions.
109. Political campaigners reach larger audiences.
110. The importance of the political mass meeting diminished.
111. Presidential "barn-storming" and front porch campaign changed.
112. Nature of campaign costs affected.
113. Appeal to prejudice of local group lessened.
114. Campaign speeches tend to be more logical and cogent.
115. An aid in raising campaign funds.
116. Campaign speaking by a number of party leaders lessened.
117. Campaign promises over radio said to be more binding.
118. High government officers who broadcast are said to appear to public less distant and more familiar.

Today we could do the same thing for TV. Except for 104, 106, and perhaps 114 we might repeat the same items and add a few speculative ones on which we have little evidence.

People watch campaigns at home together with their families.

They, therefore, feel less of the passion of a crowd.

They probably want more civil behavior, less hostility by the speaker. Perhaps the "nice guy" gets a better change in politics.[18]

Personality as compared to issue stand comes across more clearly than ever.

Politics on TV interferes with people's favorite entertainment programs.

Campaign costs rise.

Third parties have less chance than ever.

Statements on networks must deal with more national, less local issues.

Increased pressure on candidates to debate.

Increased role in campaigns by professional media people as against politicians.

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[18] Some evidence may be found in my "TV as a New Dimension in Politics" in E. Burdick and A. Brodbeck (eds.), *American Voting Behavior.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959.

The Presidential press conference becomes an arena performance with no room for candid background information.

Newspapers to compete with TV spot coverage; have to do more of what TV cannot do.

Increased difference between crisis and non-crisis public behavior. In crisis the TV industry gives round the clock coverage and the public is there on the spot.

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Part II

IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

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CHAPTER 6

A Climate of Faith

CARROLL HANSON

It is my privilege to discuss some of the sociological research on communications set forth in Dr. Harold Mendelsohn's excellent paper, *The Emergent Pessimistic Perspective,* and to show how it operates in the day-to-day practice of school public relations.

A Sword of Damocles hangs over many of our school districts in the form of hazardous special tax elections. These elections are being lost all too frequently because the increasing cost of education is on a collision course with rising municipal and state tax burdens. As a result, the quality of education is deteriorating in district after district at a time when our society is more than ever in desperate need of quality education at all levels.

The ill effects of an inferior educational system in school districts anywhere in America accumulate and spread quickly throughout the nation. They will be felt inexorably in a declining economy, in unemployment, in the weakening of our free enterprise system, and the strengthening of Red China and Russia.

It is most urgent, therefore, that schools improve their communication with the community.

Now, with Dr. Mendelsohn's concurrence, I would like to sum up what seems to me to be the most salient point in his paper for the public relations practitioner on the firing line. It is this:

> *It is impossible for a school system to communicate with an individual citizen in isolation from the groups to which he belongs or would like to belong.*

The implications of this finding, and tributary findings, are having a profound effect on school public relations programs all over America.

If you will permit me, I would like to illustrate their impact by discussing the school public relations plan of the Seattle public school system — one laboratory, at least, with which I have more than a passing acquaintance.

THE LABORATORY

As background, let me sketch in the laboratory situation. Seattle is a city of more than half a million people, with a full-time and part-time public school enrollment of 135,000 children, youth, and adults.

The school district has a budget of $54 million a year, of which about twenty percent depends on the *annual* passage of a special millage levy. The Washington state constitution requires a sixty percent majority to pass a levy and also requires a voter turnout equal to forty percent of the number which voted in the preceding general election. For example, 106,000 voters must go to the polls next November 2 in order to satisfy the forty percent requirement based on the presidential election of last November 3 and sixty percent of them must vote "Yes". If we fail in one election we can resubmit only once in the same tax year.

So far as I know, the requirements for passing a levy in Seattle are the most rigorous faced in any large city of the nation. The quality in Seattle public schools, so painstakingly achieved by the School Board and Superintendent E. W. Campbell, could be wiped out overnight by the failure of a levy election.

We have been fortunate, however. Since 1957, when the annual special levy was adopted to finance quality education, the levy has passed, with one exception. In 1959, when it failed, the Board curtailed the kindergarten program in lieu of resubmission.

At this point (in 1965) we are still solvent, having passed a $9 million special levy last November 3 by a 63.5% majority, with 210,000 citizens voting.

With this background in mind, it will not be surprising to you that the school public relations program in Seattle has the solid support of everybody concerned with quality education, from the School Board and the Superintendent to the staff in each of the 118 schools of the city, as well as virtually every major organization in Seattle.

And because our need is so great, you will nowhere find more appreciation for the arduous and patient research in the field of communications that is being done by Temple and Stanford Universities, by the National School Public Relations Association, and the U. S. Office of Education, as well as other eminent institutions.

POLICY — NOT MAYBE

Nothing happens in a school public relations program unless it is a stated policy of the School Board and a firm conviction of the Superintendent that the public shall be informed and that the school system shall give full moral and financial support to the public relations department.

This is written policy in Seattle.

Building on this firm foundation, it is possible to adequately staff the public relations department and clothe it with ample authority to make decisions and give direction to the many school employees who must become involved in a complete public relations program.

THREE WAYS TO A COMMITMENT

There are three phases in the total public relations plan operated by Seattle Public Schools. They have been developed since 1962, when the department of public relations was established, following a management study by Booz-Allen-Hamilton. Taken together, these three phases are designed to make an impact on a substantial majority of the voters in Seattle and maintain, if not increase, the normal commitment that our citizens hold toward quality education. The immediate purpose of all phases is always to pass the annual levy — that slender thread which suspends disaster.

What are the three phases? They are:

1. An institutional, city-wide, public relations program
2. A decentralized community relations program
3. A levy campaign program.

All of the programs are planned, budgeted, and put into writing for the Superintendent's approval about six months before the beginning of the next fiscal year.

Once approved, it is the responsibility of the Director of the Public Relations Department to execute the programs outlined, with the help of staff, outside consultants, and a variety of school employees, PTA members, and other citizens.

CENTRAL PLANNING; DECENTRALIZED EXECUTION

The central public relations staff operates in Seattle as a *silent partner*. It is, so far as possible, the anonymous staff assistant to the Superintendent, and it reports, as it must, directly to the Superintendent. It plans, creates, services, assigns, and evaluates across the whole gamut of public relations activity. But if its name were "Legion" it could not begin to carry out all the programs that it sets in operation. There is some danger as well as inefficiency in a public relations office trying to be more than it really is. I think that Walter Lippman's statement in *The Good Society* is applicable. He said:

> It is generally supposed that the increasing complexity of the social order requires an increasing direction from officials. My own view is, rather, that as affairs become more intricate, more extended in time and space, more involved and interrelated, overhead direction by the officials has to become simpler, less intensive, less direct, more general.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CONCEPT

Now a word about the city-wide institutional communications program. Its purpose is to increase support for the school system by building civic pride in it. It presents a concept far beyond the local, do-it-yourself school, a concept which might be summed up as "Big Schools, Big Business." The focus is on the interrelationship of the schools with the total community, particularly the fact that a good school system means a better economic climate, attractive to new industries, beneficial to property values, and conducive to full employment and a higher standard of living. This concept appeals strongly to industrial and labor organizations, and other city-wide organizations. But in order to disseminate this concept we have to report more frequently to civic organizations and submit our school system programs and budgets to much closer scrutiny than we ever have in the past. We expect to have tough questions asked and the Board and Superintendent expect to live in the glare of publicity.

The institutional public relations program deals with material of a system-wide nature, such as board policy, the budget, board and administration views on state legislation, and lately, federal programs.

The program is handled in the Information Section under the immediate direction of a supervisor. This section services two Seattle dailies, four television stations, several magazines and a dozen radio stations, as well as national magazines.

Dr. Mendelsohn makes the point that the usual instruments of mass communication (television, radio, the press, and magazines) cannot by themselves change or reinforce opinion. It is interesting to note, also, that Walter Cronkite recently stated that "the public needs to know a great deal more than we in television can communicate to them. Somehow or other, we have to teach the American people to seek more information . . ."

In practice, therefore, we are placing less reliance on the mass media than we used to. However, we do not discount the mass media and we welcome all the time and space we can get. But in the past several years, in Seattle, we have built up our own supplementary communications channels which can be focused at will on special publics and can carry news which is important but not sufficiently dramatic or immediate to gain acceptance by the mass media.

We need our own channels of communication, for example, to the teaching corps of the school system; we need our own channels to key citizens; and we need our own channels to reach a nationwide audience of potential employees in the teacher training institutions of America.

The Information Section creates and prepares color-slide presentations on a variety of topics of public interest, such as "Where the Money Goes," "Anatomy of a School," "Business Education," and so forth. These are usually twenty minutes in duration, and can be booked for service clubs and lodges. The presentations are complete with a script, and a carousel projector, with interchangeable trays, holding up to eighty slides. Last year we offered six different presentations, which were viewed by nearly 10,000 civic leaders.

This Section also prepares news conference materials, speeches, statements, operates a clipping service, a special photo service, and publishes a weekly news sheet for the district employees, as well as a monthly twelve-page, two-color house organ called *Seattle Schools*. A four-page, one-color tabloid, based on the twelve-page edition of *Seattle Schools* is published and mailed each month during the school year to nine thousand key citizens.

In addition, the Information Section handles replies to letters to the editor which are critical of the schools.

The Information Section also arranges for Superintendent's luncheons with the officers of city-wide organizations. These luncheons are off-the-record. They have done a great deal to bring key leaders into intimate contact with the school system and have had the general effect of creating an atmosphere of trust as well as clear communication.

The Superintendent's luncheon program this spring includes the top officers of the Seattle Council of Churches, the Municipal League, the Bar Association, the Presidents of four universities, the American Institute of Architects, and the Chairman of our Area Citizens Committees.

The Information Section handles a speakers' bureau and distributes, at the beginning of each school year, a program booklet, complete with pictures of available speakers and topics.

So much for the institutional public relations program, the city-wide effort to build understanding and a commitment.

"GRASS ROOTS" COMMUNICATION

Now, may I say a word about the decentralized community relations program?

We have divided Seattle into twelve areas, using the senior high school attendance boundaries, for the most part. Each year the Superintendent appoints a principal in each area to act as the coordinator for the area program.

The coordinator in turn appoints eight principals to serve under him as chairmen of the following committees:

1. Area Citizens
2. Area School Board Meetings
3. Programs
4. Exhibits
5. Rosters
6. Teacher-Parent Information
7. Publicity
8. Special Levy.

In this manner, a total of 108 principals are continuously involved in community relations work.

Let me detail briefly the functions of each committee.

The *Area Citizens Committee* is composed of about a dozen leading citizens, appointed by the chairman, and they follow a simple program: they visit three schools in their area each year, have lunch there, see a teacher and class in action. Then they wind up with a luncheon meeting with the area principals. Since membership changes each year, a new *mediating* group is formed each year and, hopefully, its influence permeates the community. We try to select citizens who are prominent in business and labor but not particularly active in school affairs, who would not normally come in contact with schools. We do not give the committee members any publicity because we do not wish in any way to suggest that the committee is replacing our regular school patrons, such as the PTA members.

The *School Board Meeting Committee* has only one job to do each year: that is to arrange for an evening board meeting in the area and to get out a crowd. As a rule, not too many citizens turn out, but the point is that they read about the meeting in the papers, and they appreciate the fact that they have a chance to meet the board members.

The *Program Committee* is busy all during the year with booking and showing color-slide presentations to the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and other service clubs and lodges in its area. We frequently have five showings a day throughout the city. In addition, this committee books youth groups into retirement homes during Christmas to sing carols and give readings.

The *Exhibits Committee* periodically sets up and services counter exhibits in banks, beauty parlors, drug stores, medical offices, and so forth for such booklets as "Where the Money Goes," "Problems and Progress," "People are Asking," and "A World of Learning." Currently, it is working in cooperation with the Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce on this program. *I must commend the Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce to you.* It is a dynamic service-minded organization which can assist schools in a variety of ways.

The *Roster Committee* screens new names in the area, deletes the names of persons who depart the area, and is constantly keeping our IBM mailing lists up to date.

The *Teacher-Parent Information Committee* tries to create and analyze ways in which to keep both teachers and parents informed about the curriculum, school finance, and so forth.

It is currently considering the feasibility of a centrally produced parent handbook at the senior high level.

The *Publicity Committee* makes personal contact nearly every week with the editors of weekly newspapers serving the area. There are fifteen weeklies in Seattle, all of them of a high caliber and thoroughly read by area citizens.

The *Special Levy Committee* goes into action about two months before the date of the annual levy election. More about this later.

It is obvious to you, at this point, that no one principal or committee has a very burdensome assignment. This is desirable because the public relations work of the principals comes on top of their other work. But by splitting up the program into small, manageable segments, the total job gets done and, in the opinion of many citizens, the community relations program is effective.

My own observation is that many of our principals are finding in community relations a whole new field of interest. Most of them are revealing a genuine talent for involving their communities in the school enterprise.

I would venture to predict that (1) public relations will become part of the principal's regular responsibilities to an increasing degree and (2) it is only a matter of time before our schools of education will offer substantial preparation in public relations to its administration majors. These two predictions must come to pass if we are to make real breakthrough in school public relations. The Superintendent will always be "Mr. Education" to a city-wide audience, but there is no reason why this role cannot be adequately fulfilled by the principal at the local area level and by outstanding classroom teachers at the grade level, particularly with parents.

But, clearly, today, *it is the principal who is the key man in public relations in Seattle*. It is the principal who is closest to the people and who can give us the most reliable feed-back.

THE "BOOSTER" SHOT

I come now to the Levy Campaign program. This is carried out by a temporary coordinator, again a principal or vice-principal, who is brought in for two months immediately before the levy election. Some months prior to his arrival, a Citizens

Committee has been established and a campaign timetable has been prepared. It is his duty to put the campaign into motion.

The timetable calls for a rapid succession of events: fund raising, briefing field workers, securing endorsements, preparing materials, and giving undivided attention to a thousand-and-one details.

After the campaign, it calls for an analysis of the vote, and "thank you" letters to hundreds of individuals, particularly to PTA members who are the real backbone of our campaign. I would consider the campaign to be a "booster shot," so to speak, to increase the effect of the year around programs just described. We do not go "all-out" in a campaign, because we have to have an election every year. I believe that almost any tax election could be won *once* by an all-out effort. But this technique would hurt us over the long pull.

Now, everything that I've outlined thus far looks pretty good on paper. But when it is translated into action — to reach the individual enmeshed in his particular group or groups — then we in Seattle still fall short of a safe margin for adequate support. This is apparent when we analyze the levy vote, area by area, precinct by precinct.

Let's take a look at the November 3, 1964 voting pattern.

Two of the twelve areas fell slightly below sixty percent on their "Yes" vote; five fell below sixty-five percent; four fell between sixty-five and seventy percent; and only one area exceeded a seventy percent "Yes" vote.

Given the rigid requirements for passing a levy in Seattle, we cannot assume we are out of danger until most of the areas come up to within seventy percent in the "Yes" vote category.

What, we might now ask, are the predominant characteristics of those precincts in which seventy percent or more of the voters *do* support the levy year after year?

First, they are precincts in which families predominate and homes are occupant owned; second, the voters are in the middle income brackets or better; third, the voters are well educated; fourth, the schools are in good condition in every way: physical structure, staff, curriculum, and, most important, *management*. In brief, the schools are a cause for community pride.

What are the predominant characteristics of the precincts which voted *under* sixty percent for the levy?

These precincts are either heavily spotted with apartments or retirement homes, or are in the center of a parochial school location, or are inhabited by low-income families, often transient in nature.

What is the answer to these well meaning but negative citizens? How can they be involved in the educational enterprise and become committed to quality education?

For the transient and poorly educated, it means better field work on the part of the area organization. It means house-to-house visits by principals, vice-principals, and teachers, done with the fervor of an evangelist.

For the parochial school population, it means creating more tangible relationships with the public school. Exploring the possibility of shared time, for example, means building a closer rapport with the parish priest and the pastor, and patient discussions with the heirarchy of the church.

For the apartment house dwellers, it means a direct-mail appeal; it means selling the landlords on the value of education as an investment in the whole community; it means finding a spokesman in every apartment building. Of all the difficult people to reach, the apartment dwellers are the most baffling. They are single persons or childless couples for the most part. After work they vanish behind locked and nameless doors and they simply cannot be reached by any normal means of direct or indirect communication. There are twenty-one thousand apartment dwellers in Seattle. Their number is growing. In the long run, they could be our downfall.

One thing is clear. If we are going to remove the ever-present threat to the quality of public education, we must involve more than the parents and a few scattered patrons. In the past this may have been sufficient; today and in the future, as the tax burden mounts, and as quality education costs more and more, we are going to have to involve the total community.

So much for communication process.

THE MESSAGE

This brings me to the nature of the message that we try to communicate through all of the network of organizations and contacts and through all the media at our disposal.

Facts alone are not enough. There must be an intimation of faith, hope and pride imparted by the leaders of city-wide and "grass roots" groups in their association with the individual citizen. There must be an emotional ingredient as well as an appeal to reason.

The *quality* in a large city school system is so *complex,* including, for example, the new math, biology, chemistry, physics, and the new English, the new foreign language programs, flexible scheduling, tutorial sessions, and so forth, that the average voter *cannot* fully comprehend it. And he can only grasp it partially with a great deal of study and attention by reading such in-depth coverage as appears in *Look* magazine and the *Saturday Review.*

Only the School Board and the Superintendent can really have the total picture of a quality school system clearly in focus.

Therefore, the Board and the Administration must ask the voters to accept the stamp of approval given by key leaders who have become involved in depth in some part of the school program and have seen its quality with their own eyes.

The Board and Administration must ask that the voter accept the communication of isolated achievements in the school system as an adequate token of the quality of the total system.

The Board must ask that the voter accept the endorsement and findings, for example, of an *ad hoc* citizens' study committee on the budget, the integration program, or the validity of a special levy.

The public must take the Board and Superintendent in good faith on many issues, and this is why a much more intensive effort must be made in many school districts to acquaint the public with Board members and the Superintendent.

The time will shortly be upon us, *as we rush into a changing tomorrow,* when the school public relations program must create a *climate of faith* as well as a flow of fact. For, as you all know, "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

CHAPTER 7

School — Public Communication Implications of Journalism Research

GORDON McCLOSKEY

I'm sure all educators thank you fellow behavioral scientists for your helpful summaries of communications research. I emphasize the word "fellow". Most of us educators view our work as akin to yours. We need and welcome your help.

As responsible scientists, Daniel Katz, Harold Mendelsohn, Ithiel de Sola Pool, David Manning White and Harry J. Skornia have recognized the limitations of research models, hypotheses, and findings. In that spirit those of us probing for the school-public communication "implications" of research do so in similar exploratory spirit and with equal humility.

With respect for scientific principle, and to provide a basis for purposeful discussion, let's begin by defining a tentative working concept of "implications."

I assume that our purpose is to conceptualize ways research findings can be utilized to improve communication between all of the individuals and groups who are, and should be, involved in public education. Observation and analysis indicate the existence and influence of two-way communication relationships between:

teachers and teachers
teachers and pupils
teachers and administrators
administrators and boards
boards and other adult citizens
administrators and other adult citizens
teachers and other adult citizens
pupils and pupils
pupils and other adult citizens

Research reviewed by David Manning White indicates the psychological-social complexities of keeping those communication channels active and constructive. He has noted that journalistic media alone are only part of the school-public communication complex. But observation shows that at present the journalistic aspects of school-public communication embody only a fraction of what research indicates to be effective.

So, I will hazard some suggestions of ways the research White has summarized can be utilized to help public school personnel (1) work more effectively with newspaper and magazine personnel and (2) improve the publications they prepare for staff members, pupils, parents, and other adult citizens. Since Harry J. Skornia and Lee Demeter are covering television, radio and films, I'll refrain from comment regarding those partially journalistic media.

My suggestions will be rooted in the following value judgments and articles of faith. Educators recognize and value citizens' right of access to educational concepts and facts essential for enlighted participation in the education of their children and for rational decisions in polling booths. Educations' major communication goal is communication which will (1) facilitate essential instruction and (2) create the largest possible amount of public understanding as a basis for moral and financial support commensurate with contemporary educational need and potential. Basically, we educators seek to inform. At times we intend honest, even vigorous, persuasion. But, we reject trickery and "pitch man" efforts to "steam roller" blind public consent.

We value, respect, and desire to foster responsible freedom of thought, press and speech. We seek opportunity to help journalists perform the informative, analytical and critical functions for which the Bill of Rights makes them responsible. We abjure all intent to manage, hoodwink or censor journalists.

JOURNALIST-EDUCATOR WORKING RELATIONSHIPS

Let's begin with journalist-educator working relationships. At best, in this cybernetic space age adequate education is almost incomprehensibly complex. It will become more so. Much of the research White cites indicates that under those circumstances both educators and journalists can better fulfill their respective responsibilities if they develop more mutually satisfactory and efficient working relationships.

Since education is a major public enterprise, I assume that both educators and journalists recognize a mutual responsibility for development of open and efficient arrangements for working with each other. However, as an educator, I will not presume to advise journalists. I know they are busy, short-handed and properly wary of press agents. But, I will suggest ways educators can do their part to initiate more effective working arrangements and note reasons why they should do so.

More local and state school administrators and more executives of local and state educational associations can initiate meetings with newspaper and magazine executives. They can seek, and usually reach, more mutually satisfactory agreements about:

1. The types of information media personnel consider appropriate for news reports and features.
2. Specific ways specific school personnel can work with reporters and editors to make more facts accessible at more suitable times in more usable form.

Research, experience and observation indicate reasons why we can expect improved working relationships to be fruitful.

White cites evidence that *accessibility* and *habitual contact* with media have substantial influence on what people read. We know that most citizens have access to newspapers and magazines and habitually depend on them for information and diversion. Clearly, those media provide educators with major means of making facts and ideas available to large numbers of people. Consequently, any working arrangements that make larger amounts of educational information available to the daily-weekly-monthly press and facilitate interpretation will be mutually helpful to educator-communicators and to journalists.

We here today can derive a sort of fraternal satisfaction from the fact that Daniel Katz, Harold Mendelsohn and Ithiel de Sola Pool are among those who have provided an abundance of evidence the *commonness of interest, sense of identification and participation* tend to activate and enlarge enlightened cooperative effort. Likewise, our chairman and my fellow "implicationers" are among those providing evidence that those psychological-social-political dynamics influence the working relationships of educators and journalists.

Twenty-seven years ago, in this city, Theodore Reller proposed activation of those influences in his study of Community Planning for Youth. For almost as many years, Leslie Kindred has been helping educators refine means of utilizing those forces. Both Lee Demeter and Carroll Hanson recognize the power of those influences in their adroit operation of outstanding local public information programs. In the past year, Gene Fusco has released two very timely analyses indicating that clarification of mutual interest and purposeful participation play crucial roles in various aspect of school-public communication.

Journalists frequently lament evidence that mass media messages seem to have most *persuasive effect* on readers who are least interested in a subject and least committed to a view. We educators recognize that evidence without dismay. Disinterested and uncommitted readers constitute two majors audiences with whom our communication is at present seriously limited. We have urgent reason for helping journalistic media help us to inform and influence those large, and often influential, groups of citizens. To us, whatever assistance journalists can give is cause for hope, not lament.

Some research indicates that the mass media serve to *reinforce existing attitudes and opinions,* that newspapers and magazines are powerful means reminding readers of their commitments and activating response. Surely, educators struggling for public consent and support must view that function as one of immense value.

Both research and experience indicate that establishment of mutually understood local educator-journalist working agreements does make more items of more meaningful educational news more accessible to more readers. There is also evidence that broadened perceptions derived from such relationships increase the frequency and scope of educational features and broaden the base of editorial comment.

Results of state and national educational association effort to cooperate with journalists have yielded similar results. In recent years, under the leadership of Ray K. Wilson, the N.E.A. Press, Radio and Television Division has developed unprecedentedly fruitful working relationships with the wire services and the Magazine Publishers Association. National press coverage of professional news has improved. Since N.E.A. research and consultation services have been made available to magazine writers and editors, both the quantity and quality of educationally oriented articles appearing in mass-circulation magazines have risen. Lee Demeter, who as past President of the National School Public Relations Association has worked closely with Roy Wilson, probably will appraise the equally dramatic results of cooperation with television and radio personnel.

Similar results are being obtained by numerous state educational associations which work cooperatively with journalists who man wire services, broadcasting chains, and trade journals.

Those results are gratifying to educators. Both research and experience indicate that results are equally satisfactory to journalists. They obtain more educational facts with greater accuracy and speed at lower cost. That helps them raise the quality of both their information and criticism functions.

So, David White, let us both work on ways of helping educators and journalists get together for more joint planning.

FACTORS AFFECTING COOPERATIVE EFFORT

Observation and inquiry indicate some attitudinal factors involved in development of educator-journalist relationships.

The "gate keeper" research White cites indicates that limited concepts of reporters and editors and routine pressures to expedite deadlines affect the ways they handle school news, features, and editorials. That evidence is supported by my own thirty years of experience with hundreds of reporters, magazine writers, editors, and publishers. But that experience also indicates that the overwhelming majority of reporters and editors have a generally favorable attitude toward the large purposes and values we educators ascribe to schooling. They are seldom well-informed about details of instruction, finance, or changing needs. But they recognize the importance of educational developments and, with few exceptions, they affirm their responsibility and desire to handle more educational news in greater depth. Most of them say they want more school news, including more background material. Many also observe that as a group educators, especially school administrators and college professors, poorly comprehend and slightly value the principles and functions of the free press. They say that many administrators and teachers appear reluctant to provide newsworthy facts and lack familiarity with means of doing so.

During those same years, work with hundreds of school administrators and thousands of teachers, along with considerable systematic inquiry, indicates that journalists' observations about educators' perceptions of journalistic functions are essentially correct. Hundreds of conversations and interviews indicate that most administrators and teachers fear that reporters and editors will misrepresent their services. Many are suspicious and hostile. Wide-spread educator stereotypes of journalists are reflected in their complaints that "Reporters are not accurate." "They slant school news." "They don't print what we give them." "They do not report important facts." "They print unfair criticisms." I have found new administrators who understand the functions of the free press — and (I note this with reluctance) few who have any strong sense of its value.

Such evidence indicates that few educators know how to work with journalists and that few are much disposed to help correct journalistic inadequacies they deplore.

SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS

Journalism research also has implications for publications prepared and disseminated by educational personnel — bulletins, brochures, handbooks, newsletters, journals, annual reports. These can be classified within two categories — those designed for internal and those designed for external communication.

Readability

Numerous recent appraisals of publications produced by school personnel demonstrate that few make much use of principles derived from readability research. In general, format is crowded and cluttered. Heads are used poorly, often not at all. Sentence and paragraph structures are awkward and clumsy. The use of jargon remains widespread. Tables, graphics, or photos appearing in school publications generally violate tested principles of simplicity, clarity, and emphasis. A year ago, *School Management Magazine* and the School Boards Publications Association sponsored a nation-wide school publications award competition. After examining 750 entries, presumably the best educators had produced, the judges made less than the planned number of awards with the observation that few publications qualified for recognition. They said, "It was disappointing to see beautiful brochures containing terrible writing and excellent writing destroyed by poor visual presentation."

Brevity

Dorothy Parker once noted that "Brevity is the soul of lingerie." Much of the readership and effect analysis research White cites indicates that brevity also has journalistic virtue. It is a quality yet to be achieved by many school publications. I have recently appraised over two hundred newsletters, brochures and annual reports. Many of the annual reports exceeded forty pages in length. Two were more than eighty pages. I cannot imagine a school patron reading much of their content. If such volume is deemed essential, it might better be packaged in sections for release at time intervals.

In most bulletins and newsletters message substance is obscured in long paragraphs complicated with details far exceeding probable limits of reader time and interest.

I am convinced that in most school publications more useful brevity can be obtained by two processes:

1. By more rigorous selection and outlining of basic and relevant ideas.
2. By editing that deletes words, phrases, and even paragraphs that belabor or obscure main ideas.

Heads and Cues

The impact of most school publications can be strengthened and the accuracy of reader interpretation increased by more purposeful selection of cue words, especially for use in heads and topic sentences. Much of the communication theory and headline research White reports indicates that by setting contexts, cue words are major determinants of reader attention and interpretation. Few of the school publications I've examined embody more than a small fraction of what we know about cues. Heads are scarce. Few utilize strong cues. One wonders if many school publication writers are aware of the topic sentence concept.

Personalization

Journalism research demonstrates that personalization of messages increases reader interest and response. School publications can be effectively personalized with verbal and pictorial content reporting work, accomplishments and achievements of pupils and staff. To varying degrees, a substantial percentage of publications do present such material. Publications can also be personalized by use of proper names and personal nouns and pronouns — son, daughter, boy, girl, he, she, him, her, his, hers. Few publications make much use of the latter device.

This generally dismal picture has two bright facets. By more use of competent writers a growing number of local school systems is increasing the readability of their publications. In recent years many national and state educational organizations have made substantial improvements in the content, readability and impact of their journals and public documents. White and his fellow journalists may be gratified to know that gains have been largest when people with journalistic training have been employed.

Since these marriages are growing in number, and are productive, I think university departments of journalism and education should explore ways of combining their resources to develop a reasonable number of well-qualified educator-journalists or journalist-educators. We're making a modest start at Washington State University.

MESSAGE CONTEXT AND CONTENT

I've purposely held a most important implication for my peroration.

Now David White and Harry Skornia may pin a propaganda tag on me. But, for the sake of discussion, I propose that the content of more school-originated news stories and publications should be encoded to convey facts and concepts that connote and clarify educational *benefits, services,* and *needs.*

White refers to journalists' recent emphasis on research in areas of communication theory and effect analysis. This, combined with sociological and psychological communication studies indicating *effects of context, interest, attitudes, opinions, and group relationships on message interpretation,* is shaping concepts which enlarge educational communicators' abilities to provide message content which better helps free citizens make purposeful educational decisions and participate more effectively in the education of their children.

As I understand communication theory derived from that research, it can be capsuled as follows:

People tend to respond best to messages perceived to be most congruent with immediate personal wants, needs, goals. Attitudes and group relationships serve as mediating mechanisms for judging the importance of messages and making decisions about what response shall be.

If that research and theory has substance, messages connoting educational benefits, services and needs should rate high on any encoding or audience response scales. They should command attention, arouse interest and evoke constructive individual and group response. That is a technical happenstance that may elate educators. It may also alert journalists to some dangers of "slanted," or "managed" school news.

But there are more fundamental reasons why messages originated by educators should provide citizens with information about benefits, services, and needs. Public schools do, or should, exist to benefit pupils and society. Educational services should be aimed at producing such *benefits.*

Consequently, we can reason that messages clarifying benefits, services, and needs provide free responsible citizens with contexts and facts which help them make purposeful and rational educational decisions. Such messages also help a free and responsible press report and appraise significant educational facts, developments, and issues.

People have a right to facts about what instructional *services* schools offer as means of providing benefits. They are entitled to facts about the results of those services. Results can be reported most honestly in terms of pupils, opportunities, achievements, accomplishments, successes. Those are valid measures of value received. Those are terms that facilitate accurate perception of rewards for past and future support. They also provide a rational context and frame of reference for interpretation of unpleasant messages about costs and taxes.

Certainly people have a right to know what additional benefits better schools can provide. Benefits can be increased by improving existing services. Such improvements can honestly be viewed as *unmet needs.* Citizens have a right to information about what those needs are, and educators have a civic and moral obligation to make facts available in meaningful contexts. Citizens also have a right to facts about all of the costs, difficulties and issues involved in meeting those needs. Surely research pertaining to "order of presentation" and "preparatory communication" indicates the wisdom of providing that information.

Of course, a benefits, services, and needs "copy policy" could be misused. Administered by dishonest or inept people, it could tend to "limit," "slant," or "manage" the content of news and school publications. That would be disastrous. So right here let's reaffirm our recognition of the principle that all journalists shall have access to all facts and be free to report and interpret as their judgment deems best.

But, if educational services and benefits are just half as critical as we behavioral and social scientists claim, it also follows that citizens have a right to information essential for rational appraisal and discussion, and have a right to perceive and appraise educational facts and issues in contexts of the purposes for which they support schools.

That may be a biased value judgment. But we have pretty solid evidence that it is well-founded. Volumes of current economic, sociological, psychological, and political science research indicate that there is unprecedentedly urgent *need* for the *benefits* that only more adequate educational services can provide. So, David White and Harry Skornia, watch out! I will encode most of my news releases and publications that way. And I will recommend that my fellow educators do likewise.

CHAPTER 8

Implications for School-Community Relations of Psychological Studies in Communication

GENE C. FUSCO

In describing and analyzing some psychological studies on communication and persuasion, Professor Daniel Katz has presented us with an opportunity to sharply question some cherished beliefs and practices which characterize school-community relations programs in local school systems.

Perhaps the findings and principles he sets forth concerning the limited effectiveness of the mass media of communication to influence attitudes and behavior may stimulate us to take a searching look into the structure and process of school-community relations programs as a precondition to improvement. Beyond that, perhaps we may feel impelled to explore ways of using some of the research tools and some of the findings from the discipline of psychology, and other behavioral sciences, to raise our field of activity from a rule-of-thumb exercise to that of a craft with a strong empirical foundation.

In responding to Professor Katz' paper, I shall first attempt to set the stage by briefly commenting on the school-community relations activity as a function of school administration. Against that background, I will then attempt to draw some implications for school-community relations programs from Professor Katz' findings and observations.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTION

It is generally recognized that an important responsibility of educational administration is to raise the level of public understanding of school policy, programs, and goals. A corollary responsibility is to build a broad base of moral and financial support for the schools among citizens by encouraging their active participation in school affairs.

The administrator's task in strengthening school-community ties has become more important — and certainly more difficult — over the years. The administrator's concept of his task in this area has shifted from "publicity campaigns" of the first two decades of this century, through the "continuous publicity" approach of the 1920's, and the "educational interpretation" movement of the 1930's and early 1940's.

In the late 1940's, still another concept emerged. That concept was designed to bring a fuller dimension to the conventional school public relations activity by pointing up the need for school and community *interaction* through citizen participation in school affairs. That process has been called "school-community partnership," "school-community cooperation," or simply "school-community relations." In reference to that activity, I shall use the latter term, which I will shorten to SCR, in the remainder of this paper.

How Important Is Good SCR to the Superintendent?

In recent years, the relationship between the superintendent's success on the job and his competency in developing improved school-community relations has been brought into sharper focus. Much of the credit for illuminating this critical aspect of school administration may be attributed to the W. K. Kellogg Foundation's sponsorship and support of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, a study of school administration launched in the late 1940's.

In the summary report of the CPEA, Hollis Moore cites thirty-nine references concerning the relationship of school to the community.[1] Those inquiries included studies of voting behavior in relation to attitudes toward the schools, analyses of community power structure and decision making affecting educational matters, the role of the superintendent in community improvement projects, techniques for analyzing the community, and methods of involving a greater proportion of citizens in seeking solutions to the problems of the school.

Those CPEA studies tended to raise more questions than they answered. But the issues that were brought to light at least served notice on the school administrator that the need to improve his competencies in school-community relations was acute, and that the challenges which he faced in that area had become more demanding than ever before.

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[1] Hollis A. Moore, Jr., *Studies in School Administration*. Washington: American Association of School Administrators, 1957.

In addition to the CPEA inquiries, several other research studies of the superintendency have documented the close relationship between the superintendent's competency in public relations and his over-all success or failure.

Richard Kennan of NEA's National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, in a speech delivered before AASA Regional Conventions in 1961, reported on a survey of all the chief State school officers and all of the executive secretaries of State teacher associations. The survey sought to obtain their opinions as to why school superintendents get fired. Kennan found that "in 1960, as in 1958, both the State secretaries and the State superintendents agreed that, other than incompetence, the most frequent factor preventing success ot superintendents is poor public and community relations."

Kennan went on to observe that his Commission arrived at a similar conclusion in their investigations of dismissals: "Time and time again, it has been found that one of the most serious problems that has developed when a superintendent is in difficulty is in his public relations.[2]

A survey of school superintendents, released by the American Association of School Administrators in 1960, pointed up the superintendent's concern regarding his competence in school-community relations. Urban superintendents in nearly 4,000 cities of 2,500 or more population responded to the Association's periodic reading of its membership. It was found that public relations ranked third, after finance and curriculum, among thirty-one courses listed as being important in advanced graduate study. And public relations ranked fifth in a list of eighteen weaknesses reported by the superintendents.[3]

Other studies have also indicated the central position the sound school-community relations programs play in a superintendent's success on the job.[4]

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[2] Richard Barnes Kennan, "Why They Got Fired." Speech delivered at the American Association of School Administrators' regional convention for 1961. Page 2 (Mimeograph).

[3] American Association of School Administrators, *Profile of the School Superintendent*. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1960.

Are We in Trouble?

How are we doing in developing and maintaining effective school-community relations programs? If there are no signs of trouble, or if our difficulties are negligible, then there would seem to be little need in exploring implications for improvement of SCR programs from communications research findings in the behavioral sciences.

My observations and experience in the field of school-community relations lead me to observe that practitioners of that craft carry a nagging uneasiness about their effectiveness. Perhaps they are somewhat in the position of that pirate captain who, during a furiously fought engagement with the enemy, was aware of a blindingly swift sweep of an opponent's sword directed below his chin. Like that pirate, we educators move about rather stiffly, fearful that we have been badly cut up in our encounters with the community, and apprehensive about the consequences of shaking our heads too vigorously!

We need not dig very deeply to find widespread failures and weaknesses in SCR programs. The evidence from many sources is disturbing.

In a progress report by the Stanford Communication Project, the researchers conducting the projected eight-year study on school-community relations found in a study of over one thousand school districts that the mean turnout in school financial elections was not much over one-third of the qualified voters, regardless of size of district. In a study of four cities, they found that in response to a question on frequency of attendance at school functions, the distribution of the sample interviewed was as follows: very often, 15.8 percent of the voters; pretty often, 21.3 percent; sometimes, 20.3 percent; not very often, 23.1 percent; not at all, 18.7 percent. Incredibly, the remaining .08 percent of the respondents answered, "don't know!" The investigators also found that the proportion of voters who attend PTA meetings regularly and had discussions with school personnel was similarly unimpressive.

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[4] Raymond Young and Beryl Dillman, "A Study of Relationships Between Importance of a School Superintendent's Functions and His Practices, Based on Authoritarian Opinion." Journal of Experimental Research, XXVII. Pages 321-336. (1960).

Kenneth Degood, "Can Superintendents Perceive Community Viewpoints?" *Administrators Notebook*, VIII (November 1959).
Robert E. Sternloff, "The Critical Requirements for School Administrators Based Upon an Analysis of Critical Incidents." (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953).

The Stanford researchers also found that in one community only one percent of those interviewed could furnish the names of the local school superintendent or any two board members. In another community six factual questions were asked about a forthcoming tax election, using multiple choice responses. The number of correct answers received was less than would be expected by chance. Ignorance about the election was so widespread that the vast majority of interviewees were reluctant to guess the answer.[5]

In studies of two communities in Oregon, Evans discovered that 2.4 percent of the 6,012 registered voters had turned out in all of the past four school elections. In the other community, 3.6 percent voted at least once over a four-year period.[6] (Interestingly, sixty-three percent of the eighty-nine fairly consistent voters in an adult population of 2,050 were teachers, school administrators, school board members, PTA officials, and their spouses.)

In a major study in two large communities dealing with citizen discussion of school affairs, researchers found remarkably high proportions of respondents who never discussed school affairs. Such discussions were held mostly within the immediate family, rarely with school officials. The percentages of respondents who discussed school affairs "not at all" with school officials was 72.2 percent in one community and 81.5 percent in the other.[7]

Neal Gross, in an extensive study of the school superintendency in Massachusetts, gathered information through personal interviews in order to develop an empirical analysis of the job of the school superintendent in terms of the community social structure. Gross reported that public relations was the administrative area in which the fewest proportion of board members, some forty percent, rated their superintendent as excellent. As for the superintendents themselves, only eighteen percent rated themselves as being excellent in public relations.[8]

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[5] Richard F. Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, a technical report. Stanford: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1960; and Richard F. Carter and John Sutthoff, *Communities and Their Schools*, a technical report. Stanford: School of Education, Stanford University, 1960.

[6] James R. Evans, "Identification, Behavior Patterns, and Characteristics of Consistent Voters in an Oregon First Class School District." Unpublished D. Ed. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1955.

[7] As reported by John M. Foskett, "Differential Discussion of School Affairs," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 37. Pages 311-315. (1956).

Is it any wonder that in the face of the evidence presented above, which could be expanded, that the administrator's confidence in his ability to promote effective SCR is severely shaken? Uneasiness about our effectiveness in improving school-community relations stems partly from the sheer size and complexity of the task. But when a school bond issue repeatedly fails at the polls; when a school tax levy is turned down by an overwhelming majority of the voters; when we see evidence of modest attendance at school functions; when we note that citizen activity in behalf of schools reaches its highest level among parents with children in elementary school; when we find vast public ignorance about school matters; and when we learn that only a small minority of citizens in the community actually participates in school affairs, we become painfully aware of a rather firm basis for our insecurity.

Perhaps the information provided by Professor Katz will at least help us to realize that transmitting a message through some medium in the hope that some desirable effects will be produced on the part of the receiver as the result of our efforts is presumptuous, at best.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF PROFESSOR KATZ' PAPER FOR SCR

Are there any implications for school-community relations from the psychological studies described and analyzed by Professor Katz?

Professor Katz presents findings from four studies classified under cognitive and two studies classified under motivational factors which indicate ways in which people organize incoming messages designed to influence their attitudes and behavior.

Studies on "cognitive differentiation" tend to show that the attitudes of people who have elaborate and differentiated belief systems about a subject are not subject to much change, whereas people with little knowledge can be powerfully influenced by persuasive messages, *under certain conditions.*

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[8] Neal Gross, *Who Runs Our Schools?* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958.

The relevance of that principle, derived from laboratory research, to school-community relations is difficult to assess because in the school-community matrix there are innumerable messages and influences which bombard the citizen, no one of which is controlling.

May we conclude from the principle of cognitive differentiation that to the degree that citizens are ignorant and unsophisticated regarding school matters, but are vaguely pro-school, that the opportunities of the school to influence their attitudes are enormous? It would seem that those citizens who are knowledgeable about school affairs will be favorably influenced by information from a school source. But such citizens are probably favorably disposed toward the school anyway. The ignorant, indifferent, or hostile citizen, who should be the target of the message, may or may not be influenced; but he, according to Professor Katz' observations early in his paper, will either not expose himself to the message, or tend to reinterpret it and thereby make it congruent with his preconceived notions. Is the problem that of "capturing the attention" of such citizens so that they will "hold still" while the message is being delivered?

The principle that "content overcomes source" over a period of time seems to imply that regularly spaced messages from school-to-community pointing up the prestigeful source of the message might be useful, assuming, of course, that the source of the message is respected by those citizens exposed to it.

But, again, citizens in local communities are subject to information from a wide variety of sources. If it is true, as some research tends to show, that citizens receive most of their information about schools from school children, then certainly the principle of "content and source" should at least be taken into account by those who construct school-to-community messages.

The principle dealing with "frame of reference," that the sender of the message has a tendency to oversimplify information which is complex or contradictory, and the principle concerning the inefficiency of "reward-punishment" type of messages, can also be useful to those responsible for message construction.

The implications for SCR of the studies on "dissonance" and "ego defense" are, I believe, particularly relevant to SCR. I shall weave implications for SCR based on both principles into the five points developed in the remainder of this paper.

Awareness of Limited Effectiveness of Mass Media

The observations by Professor Katz concerning the questionable value of increasing the flow of information, saturating the public with messages, and intensifying the impact of messages through sheer repetition and volume should cause administrators and their staffs to take a closer look at what they are doing in order to explore ways of developing more effective communication strategies.

Variations on the following statement by a practitioner in school-community relations are familiar to all of us: "But we used every media of communication at our disposal to call attention to the need for passing the school bond issue. How could it have failed at the polls?" In light of certain realities of the communication process as outlined by Professor Katz, the question in the foregoing statement is a *non-sequitur.*

The cognitive and motivational factors which operate when people decode messages designed to influence their attitudes should (1) help us to be aware of the limitations of mass media as "attitude changers," and (2) encourage us to develop new channels of communication in order to strengthen ties between school and community.

I believe the search for effective communication channels of *interaction* between school and community should *supplement* and not *replace* the use of mass media. Such a procedure would be a practical one, given the reality of the public school's role in the community, and in our society.

The mass media must continue to play an important part in school-to-community information programs, because, as I understand some of the research findings, the mass media of communications *do* serve to reinforce attitudes already held by persons, and perhaps could tip a leaner over to "our side." Beyond that, the value of personal contact in influencing attitudes and behavior is powerful, as investigations have shown. And the initial spark for such a chain of communication can have its origin in messages transmitted via mass media.

In addition, the necessity for public schools to report to the public has both a legal and ethical base. Messages sent via the mass media, at least theoretically, reach a large proportion of citizens with the least expenditure of time and effort on the part of the sender.

Too, the public has grown accustomed to being informed via the mass media. The non-use of mass media of communications for school-to-public messages would probably raise great difficulties for the administrator because of the strong probability that the public would demand to know what the school was hiding from them. Reporting to the public when public monies are expended is an unavoidable administrative responsibility. And, in the case of the schools, a basic public institution which affects the lives of all citizens in the community in one way or another, it is an absolutely vital activity.

More Rigorous Study of the School-Community Relations Process

Educators cannot expect to make much headway in raising the school-community relations process from a rule-of-thumb exercise to an empirically based discipline unless a more rigorous approach is made to study the process itself.

Part of the problem of such a study is the difficulty in circumscribing the school-community relations process. Attempts to do so lead to exasperating exercises in determining which activities to leave out and which to include. After all, isn't every element of interaction between school and community, isn't every remark by a school employee, every message sent to the home, every subject and service offered by the school, isn't even the manner in which the school receptionist answers the phone, part of the school community relations?

We need to identify what the eminent semanticist, S. I. Hayakawa, calls the "referents" in the process we call school-community relations. In other words, we need to know the *tangible acts* which correspond to our term.

On the basis of observation and normative studies, I believe it fair to say that practices in school-community relations are selected by a fly-by-the seat-of-the-pants technique, and that such practices are applied to many types of problems affecting school and community relations without any specific understanding of the *reasons why* they are the best ones to use. Practices are often employed because other administrators reported success with them. And that "other administrator" has probably hit upon an approach by following his own Olympian counsel.

Is the school public relations activity an *art*, as some contend? Is it no more than a series of *practices?* Would it qualify as a *discipline?* The process lacks any predictive elements and is certainly several light years from achieving the status of a *science*.

The activities which are part of a typical school-community relations program are derived from various fields – journalism, group dynamics, public relations, audiovisual communication, and advertising. Recently, I have detected some furtive snatching from the disciplines of sociology, psychology, and political science; but not very much.

Now, if school-community relations is no more than an art form, then there is no point in talking about the area ripening to maturity and qualifying as a discipline some day. Classified as an art, the key to improving the field is simply to find "artists" born with the gift of promoting effective school-to-community and community-to-school practices.

On the other hand, if school-community relations is a practice, then improvement lies in refining those practices from which it borrows almost all of its methodology – namely, journalism. The task of improvement would entail development of organized learning opportunities for dealing with such problems as "how-to-prepare-a-more-effective-news-release." Of course, this sort of thing can also be learned on the job.

Can a field which is as complex, many-faceted, and constantly shifting as school-community relations be *disciplined?* Is it really more than a series of discrete (some would say, blind) practices which can only be described in normative terms? Can this field, whose processes are dominated by folklore and authoritarian opinion, be studied and evaluated through an empirical approach? And is it possible to utilize some of the findings and principles developed by the behavioral sciences in order to improve it?

If we can circumscribe the SCR process, then we can take steps to evaluate it. We can probably find general agreement with the proposition that an effective SCR program would be one where there is evidence that the activities of school administration influenced public attitudes and behavior in a manner favorable to the school.

In support of such a thesis, would we then attempt to measure the degree of "public understanding" of education as defined by the researchers in the Stanford study? Does a high degree of public support of school board issues and tax levies at the polls offer us a valid measure of evaluation?

It would be easier to develop measurable indices, such as the number of citizens who visit the school over a period of time, citizen use of school facilities, and citizen involvement in adult education programs. But such quantitative measures are superficial and meaningless.

When all is said and done, current school-community relations programs are evaluated on the basis of the practices employed, rather than on the outcomes or effects sought by the practices. The obvious dilemma posed here is that in the absence of evaluative criteria with qualitative factors, we have no firm footing upon which to stand to take a proper "reading."

Educators cannot help but be impressed, it seems to me, by the research designs and the sophisticated tools employed by behavioral scientists in dealing with problems of communication. Certainly, the studies cited by Professor Katz are impressive examples of research activity.

Don't we need to use better instruments in performing the various tasks in school-community relations? The literature on school public relations, for example, calls attention to the necessity of taking into account the information needs of the various "publics" in the community. What "publics"? The obvious economic, social, political, ethnic, and social "publics" are readily identified. But where does one go from there?

In recent years, behavioral scientists have added enormously to their store of knowledge about power structure, voting behavior, social class, and a host of other factors and processes in the community. The research tools they have used served them well. Their use of personal interview techniques to identify opinions on a given subject are highly advanced, compared with their employment by educators.

Even in its present primitive stage, it is generally recognized that an important part of the SCR process is to "know the community." Some of the larger school systems use opinion polls, and occasional pilot samplings and "depth interviews" in studying their community. But, many opinion polls fall far short of qualifying as scientific instruments. And, too often, the samplings of the population are inadequate; the questions are poorly drawn, often loaded; and interpretations go beyond the findings.

I submit that the school-community relations field will not become a more rigorous discipline until it employs better research instruments than it has in the past. Behavioral scientists continually develop and refine their methods and means of measurement. We can do no less.

New Organizational Forms

If we hope to improve our efforts to influence attitudes and behavior, we must not place an inordinately high value on the external process of communication. Above all, we should fully realize the consequences of people responding as reactive agents to our messages, of people demonstrating their discriminating powers of organizing messages so that they make sense to them. This seems to be the gist of Professor Katz' paper.

Isn't it time to scrutinize present organizational forms, ostensibly designed to provide a link between school and community, with a view toward either improving them or developing new ones?

We know that school practices have been modified as the result of applying some of the findings from sociological studies. For example, the findings of sociologists that individual differences among pupils do not stem from idiosyncratic personality variables, but are primarily a function of structural aspects of the social system, have great theoretical and practical value for educators. The proper application of that principle in the classroom can make a difference in the academic achievement and behavior of a child from a low-income family. The findings presented by Professor Katz bear implications for improving school-community relations, if properly assessed and applied in the field.

Professor Katz tells us, in effect, that the meaning of a message cannot be deduced from studying its contents. If the meaning were contained in the words, we should be able to analyze the words and find the meaning. That is impossible, for as Professor Katz has indicated, people bring their own meanings to the meanings directed to them, and filter the message through their own cognitive and motivational responses.

Meanings are not transmittable, and meanings, as David Berlo reminds us, are not in the message; *they are in the message-user.* Now, applying this principle to the SCR field, would we not conclude that we should become more "audience oriented" rather than "message oriented," that when we simply "tell the school story," we leave out a large and important part of the communication process, namely, the recipient of the message?

Isn't the receiver the most important part of the communication process? To communicate is to expect to receive a response from the receiver of the message. Any communication source transmits a message in order to influence the receiver to do something, to know something, to accept something.

Isn't there an unavoidable implication here that the present structure and operation of mediating agencies between school and community should be altered or replaced?

If people are basically rational, as Professor Katz suggests, if as "information receivers" they are dynamic and highly active encoders, if they are basically open to a differentiated presentation of an issue, and if "as they participate and enter into a process because of their own decisions, they work through the implications of attitude change for themselves more clearly," then what new organization patterns to promote school-community interaction suggest themselves?

For example, is the alleged ineffectiveness of the PTA attributable to its structure, its operation, or both? One critic suggests that a little tinkering with PTA processes would set things right, or at least lead to improvement. Other critics have strongly indicated that PTA's are highly expendable units.

The contribution of citizens committees for better schools in local school systems has been uneven. Why is this? Is the problem organizational in nature? Is the process reasonably effective, but the follow-through (communicating findings to the general public) the deficient element?

Should efforts be made to determine effective ways of developing a more manageable form of citizen-educator interaction to supplement the messages transmitted to the public via the mass media? There are undoubtedly some medium to large sized school systems that are presently developing such decentralized organizational units that provide citizens with an opportunity to study school problems, and to become meaningfully involved in developing educational policy. We need to know about such practices, and measure their effectiveness as best we can.

Theoretical Framework for SCR Process

Would it be feasible to borrow or adopt a communication model as an analytical instrument for improving our SCR procedures? Can we honestly expect the SCR process to develop from its present pragmatic approach to a more rigorously based activity until this is attempted? Hasn't the type of communications research cited by Professor Katz and the other behavioral scientists progressed to the point where we can consider such a bold approach?

W. W. Charters believes that an analytical model of SCR must be developed in broad conceptual terms *before* we can properly assimilate the vast array of research in the behavioral sciences.[9] I am aware that a courageous soul attempted to develop such a communication model with results which were something less than spectacular.[10] Such an approach, I believe, calls for a large-scale, generously financed, rigorously designed, carefully evaluated effort. Here I find myself in enthusiastic agreement with David Manning White's plea for a "grand study of a community and the people who constitute it in terms of what mass communication does to it and them."

I am aware of the fact that there are many communication models. I understand that the earliest reference to such a model can be found in the *Rhetorica* by Aristotle in which he delineated the three elements in speech-making: *speaker, subject,* and *person addressed.* Recently developed communication models seem to retain these basic elements, but are more elaborate and take into account the interactive elements in the process.

I am wondering whether any of the dozen or so communication models which have been developed may be used with profit in SCR. The Shannon and Weaver Model seems to reduce the communication process to a mathematical formula and is probably too mechanistic for consideration in SCR. The Ogden and Richards Model, emphasizing a triadic relationship between the "symbol," the "thought of the reference," and the "referent"; the Minnick Model, illustrating the perceptual fields of a receiver; Wendell Johnson's Model, describing the main elements of communication from a physical point of view, and a number of other models, attempt to show the nature of the communication process primarily in terms of oral communication between two persons.

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[9] W. W. Charters, Jr., "Public Relations." Chester W. Harris (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Research.* Third edition. New York: Macmillan Co., 1960. Page 1079.

[10] Sylvia Ciernick, "Development and Use of a Conceptual Schema for Analyzing the School Public Relations Process." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1962.

Harold Lasswell's much quoted formulation of the main elements of the communication process: "*Who* says *what* in *which* channel to *whom* with *what effect?*" at least has a humanistic base, and we might add, a journalistic orientation. If we interpret the formula broadly, and apply it to communication patterns in the school-community, could it be useful to us?

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The most compelling implication of Professor Katz' paper, it seems to me, is the imperative necessity for educators to sharply question their present modes of operation in school-community relations programs.

A prominent educator suggested recently, in a national education journal, that the school public relations fraternity would be greatly benefited if the experience and know-how of veterans who have been practicing their craft for the past thirty to forty years were compiled in the form of a symposium or a syllabus and made available to practitioners in school-community relations programs.

I believe the efficacy of such an effort is questionable. I would prefer to look ahead, to consider ways of breaking the old molds. I would prefer to take the advice of Satchel Paige who, when asked his secret for living a long and happy life observed: "Don't never look back; somethin' might be gainin' on you!"

CHAPTER 9

Translating the Languages of Television, Radio and Films into More Effective School Public Relations

LEE DEMETER

I appear before you today, a battle-scarred, full time school public relations director for fourteen years. Fourteen years devoted both to helping formulate and implement public relations policies and programs, fourteen years that have usually seen me imbibe the sweet nectar of victory but occasionally drink the bitter wine of defeat. And if the fourteen years have taught me one lesson paramount among others, it is that the art and science of school public relations (or two-way communication, as it should more properly be called) is exceedingly complex; that expertise is neither easily nor quickly come by; that even after a degree of expertness has been acquired, it can soon be lost if one neglects to keep up with changing times, changing techniques, and a changing community.

The complexity of school public relations was beautifully described some years ago in a talk by Doctor Frederick J. Moffit who said,

> School public relations is both a science and an art. It is a science that demands a complete understanding of machinery, for it involves the use and abuse of battered Coronas, prehistoric Underwoods and sticky Woodstocks; the oiling and cranking of rusty duplicating machines, fly-paper stencils and similar stubborn appliances used in the creation of graven images. It calls for skills in manipulation of balky flashlight bulbs and the proper disposal of same; the juggling of magic lanterns, thermo-faxes and verifaxes. It employs the squint and squat, the flip and the flop of television and the skills of typesetting, bookbinding and manuscript reading. But public relations is a far greater science, too, demanding the mathematics caused by a prolific and peripatetic population; the biology and physics of osmosis and geriatrics; the chemistry of man when he simmers or boils or does a slow burn . . . But interpreting the schools is much more an art than a science. It is the art of influencing and channeling the emotions, actions and minds of men. It is an art involving miracles and at times, voodooism – the art of mixing phrenology, psychology, psychiatry and sociology with a whale of a lot of

> common sense. It is an art involving an understanding like that of a gardener with a green thumb who knows when and where to plant, how to fertilize and how to use DDT most effectively, an art like unto that of a fisherman who knows how to spit on his bait to make it more attractive, how to use the winds and the tides, and where, how, when and whether the fish will bite. But the real art of public school interpretation is a much more noble art involving poetry, painting, appreciation of music, ability with both flute and drum, and an abiding appreciation of the power of words and the loneliness of thought . . .

Now if the art and science of communication appears terribly complicated, it sounds – to me, at least – equally fascinating. And I would suggest that a school administrator who has not troubled himself to master the communications process is like the fellow winking at a pretty girl in the dark. He knows what he's doing, but she doesn't. Further, he has no way of sizing up what response, if any, she would make to the come-on look in his eye.

The passing years have also taught me to be aware of both the limitations and the potential of school public relations: on the one hand, a good program will not be able to accomplish miracles and achieve the impossible; on the other hand, good public relations may be instrumental in making the unlikely possible, the possible probable, and the probable an actuality.

Doctor Skornia's presentation is remarkable on several counts. In its comprehensiveness and scholarship it is positively awesome. In urging caution in the interpretation of the vast array of research studies, it has a refreshing candor and honesty. In pinpointing areas of further needed research, it provides valuable guidelines for the future; finally, throughout his scholarly treatise there is the implied conviction that in television, radio and films we have powerful weapons at our command – if we but have the will and the skill – to push on to areas where new beachheads should be established, where the soil stands in need of cultivation, where the promise of a bountiful harvest of public understanding is great.

Much of Doctor Skornia's survey deals with the uses of television, radio and films in the classroom. The focus of my presentation rests on the utilization of these media *outside* the classroom, with specific publics or with the citizenry generally. Lest this appear to be unreasonable and arbitrary on my part, let me hasten to add that I am not unmindful of the significance for school public relations of what takes place in the classroom. The starting point of effective public relations is a good product or a good service. A quality school program through the radiance and enthusiasm of its pupils and teachers is its own best ambassador. When children go home at the end of each school day, what took place in school that day is a favorite topic of conversation with their parents. Inevitably, the barometer of public sentiment about schools fluctuates daily up or down, affected in large measure by the satisfactions or the disappointments experienced by pupils. Thus, anything TV, radio and films contribute to the improvement of instruction strengthens a school system's public relations efforts.

Having made this acknowledgment, I must go on to say that as a Director of School Public Relations, I must be concerned with the totality of public relations, with all of its objectives, with all of its publics, with all of its media. The use of the electronics media obviously cannot be considered in a vacuum. These media must be woven into a master plan, with short-range and long-range objectives. Depending on the local situation, the role assigned to these media may range all the way from a considerable one to a relatively insignificant one. Time spent on planning an overall public relations program will help determine the specific role of TV, radio and films.

But unfortunately planning is a missing ingredient of most local school public relations programs. School public relations is typically conducted on a crisis-to-crisis, on a hit or miss basis. It is not deliberately designed to influence people or to persuade or move them to action. A good public relations program is carefully thought out. It leaves little to chance. Planning involves setting up goals, analyzing the various publics, determining a priority scale for reaching them, programming a specific course of action, deciding who on the public relations team does what, when, and how. Planning makes provision for listening as well as telling. And it should seek to create not only a public that is responsive to you, but a public that will have needs and goals of its own, a public that will be much tougher for you to work with – but in the long run much more healthy for the educational system. Planning a public relations program gives you tremendous advantages: it arms you with the power to set up *your* objectives, to select your targets, to pick the battleground, to determine your strategy and tactics, to decide on the weapons, to control the timing of your efforts. It endows you with the priceless advantage of the initiative. In short, planning conducted prior to the take-off will reduce the frequency and the peril of your crash landings.

In mapping out a long range program, how much attention should be given to radio and television? A survey conducted three years ago by Elmo Roper and Associates with a statistically accurate cross section of our population provides some clues. One of the questions asked was, "Suppose you could continue to have only one of the following — radio, television, newspapers or magazines — which one of the four would you most want to keep? The answer: television — 42%, newspapers — 28%, radio — 22%, magazines — 4%, did not know — 4%.

Another question related to news. "If you got conflicting reports of the same news story from radio, television, the magazines, and the newspapers, which of the four versions would you be most inclined to believe?" The answers: television — 39%, newspapers — 24%, radio — 12%, magazines — 10%, did not know — 17%.

A related question was, "Which of the four would you be least inclined to believe — the one on radio, television, magazines or newspapers?" The answers: 28% would be least inclined to believe the newspapers, 25% the magazines, 9% radio, 7% television, and 32% did not know.

The results would seem to indicate that both TV and radio are accepted by the American people as more than an entertainment medium. They are accepted as a reliable source of information.

Turning to the numbers game for a few moments, the figures are staggering. There are more than 3,500 radio stations in the U. S. today. Local radio stations have increased five-fold in the last dozen years. In 1955, a peak TV year, fourteen million radio sets were sold — three million more than were sold in radio's last big year, 1949. In 1963, set manufacturers sold twenty-five million radios, or about as many as were in use in the 1930's. An estimated two hundred million sets have been sold since World War II. The invention of the clock radio in 1950 started the boom and the introduction of the transistor set accelerated it, so that now half of all radios sold in the U. S. are transistor portables. Another big factor in radio's comeback was the automobile market. In 1946, fewer than nine million cars had radios. In 1963, car radios zoomed to fifty million, and it is estimated that some forty-four million adults listen to car radios every day. Almost every home has at least one radio, close to fifty percent have two or more – and I don't have to tell you that they are all over the place: in the bedroom, the kitchen, the washroom, the living room.

The growth of television is no less remarkable. There are now about 673 TV outlets in America, of which 558 are commercial and 115 educational, including fifty-nine VHF and fifty-six UHF stations. The country is pretty well blanketed by TV. In 1950 only five million households had TV. The 1960 census showed that out of a total of 53,000,000 households in the U. S., forty-six million had television. And in a recent speech, Robert Sarnoff, Chairman of the Board of NBC stated that more than fifty-two million homes have TV sets and that the average family watches TV for more than five and a half hours a day. It's incredible, but more households have TV sets (and radios, too) than have telephones.

Thus, there is a fantastic flow through the airwaves today of not only entertainment and advertising, but of news and information as well. The latter point may not sound credible to us, to be sure, drowned as we think we are daily in a flood of commercials, game shows, soap operas, westerns, and situation comedies. But the fact remains that radio and television stations function under the regulations of the Federal Communications Commission which states among other things that these outlets must operate in accord with "public interest, convenience and necessity." Stations enjoy much flexibility within this stipulation. There is no requirement that any time has to be devoted to schools as such. The "public interest" can be served by news, talk programs, agriculture, discussion, religion and the like. And commercial stations, almost without exception, have a sufficiently balanced schedule of programs in the "public interest" area that they can meet the F.C.C. requirements without any programs on education per se.

What does this mean for the school administrator? It means that when he entertains an idea for a new educational program, it must be good enough to induce the program director to add it to his schedule. This often means cutting something else out from the schedule to find room for the new program. But the prospects and opportunities are not as bleak as they may appear on the surface. There was a time when the four national radio networks monopolized programming at the local level. Radio today has gone local. Networks fill perhaps only some twenty percent of an affiliated station's schedule, and most of it is news. More and more, radio stations are relying on local sources for programming — and this is where you and I can move in. And we are not alone. Already, the National Education Association and numerous State Teachers Associations regularly feed announcements and programs to radio stations. There is much we can do to supplement their efforts and to serve our own local objectives.

Reg Merridew of WJR, Detroit, offered the following advice to a group of school public relations people some time ago. Stating that requests for radio time are usually for spot announcements for broadcasting:

1. Type, double-spaced, each announcement on a separate sheet of 8½" x 11" paper;
2. Provide as many copies of the announcement as the times you hope it will be announced (this because each station has an announcement book into which "spots" are placed in the order in which they will be read). If the announcement is scheduled to be read several times, copies are inserted in the appropriate places in the book and when the announcer comes on duty, he reads whatever spot is next in line. The extra effort of sending extra copies of the "spots" is frequently the difference between an announcement being read more than once or not;
3. Time the announcement by reading it out loud so that it will fit into the sixty- or thirty-second time slots available;
4. Do not specify the time the announcement should be read. Hope for the best;
5. Don't ask for a follow-up report on the number of times an announcement was used.

With respect to full educational programs, Mr. Merridew suggests that you not request a specific air time for your show; that you have a definite program or series of programs in mind with a written format; the length, number of shows in the series and how you think it fits into the station's overall schedule; that you remember the program should seek to build, and not reduce, an audience; that you seek the production assistance of the radio station but that you and your co-workers follow through on your assigned responsibilities once the program has been accepted and scheduled; that you not permit inferior material to get to the station – this includes bad tapes, scratchy records, or people with poor voices; and finally, that you not resist the idea of the right kind of commercial sponsorship – if you can get it – for this will assure you of red carpet treatment at the hands of the station.

The types and numbers of radio programs that can be offered to stations are probably limited only by the imagination, energy and salesmanship of the local school administrator or the state and national association director in charge of radio programming. A few examples:

> Three radio stations in Kansas City have carried seven series of shows including three for in-school use. The public relations programs have included "Education in the News," a fifteen-minute weekly series which has been on the air for more than ten years; "Today's School," a fifteen-minute weekly, on the air for over two years; "PTA Today," fifteen minutes twice monthly on the air for over five years; and in addition, another thirty shows have been used in the course of the year as "tie-ins" on women's interest programs on three different stations.
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> Levittown, Pa.'s WBCD has had a four-minute spot announcement right after the 8 a.m. news, earmarked for school systems serving Lower Bucks County. The series of tapes was produced by principals and teachers. The Oregon Education Association has engaged in a sixteen-week series of half-hour radio programs, "Let's Take a Look," over KEX Portland. It's an interview-discussion format devoted to teaching methods, judging school quality, etc.
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> WMCA New York City has had daily shows saluting outstanding contributions by New York City schools' staff members.
>
> A fifteen-week "Why, Teacher?" series has been aired by nine radio stations in cooperation with the California Teachers Association. The initial series had newsmen interview education authorities on a variety of topics. The Abington, Pennsylvania schools have had a five-minute news show heard twice on Mondays over WIBF, while Cincinnati's WCKY has interviewed teachers in a ten-minute feature segment of a one-hour news show on Fridays. Not to be outdone, Akron, Ohio's WKAR has saluted new teachers in a series of one-minute spots.
>
> Quite typical is a fifteen-minute weekly show (a few run to thirty minutes) in which some phase of a school program is

> discussed via an interview or panel. Such programs have been on the air in Camden, New Jersey; Peoria, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York. The Oklahoma Education Association, with the state PTA and School Boards organizations, has provided radio stations with a thirteen-week series of fifteen-minute programs on school problems and progress in that state.
>
> Local education associations sometimes find it profitable to team up with the local school district's public relations office to offer a radio program on a continuing basis. Such a five-minute weekly show was aired for seventeen months right through the summer over WTIG, Massillon, Ohio. A similar association-school system show has been on the air in Pittsburg, California.
>
> In Birmingham, Alabama, WAPI interviews a different teacher from one of the system's 103 schools about her work and background. The program is called "Teacher Honor Role," and at the conclusion of the show the teacher receives a scroll and an orchid provided by a local florist.

But alas, speaking of orchids, we can't present them to school people generally. I remember Richard Krolik, who used to head up the NEA's New York City radio-TV office, say that there is a disposition on the part of many logical spokesmen for the educational profession to be shrinking violets. On more than one occasion, he said efforts to place teachers on network programs to discuss or demonstrate the curriculum and teaching methods failed because teachers felt it was "not important" or "undignified." He added that school people are going to have to give a little in order to get their story across. Mr. Krolik's remarks apply equally to television. And speaking of television, let's tune in on it for the next few minutes.

Television has been called "the boob tube" and a "vast wasteland." Certain it is that there is much trash to be found there, judged by sophisticated standards, but there's plenty of trash, too, among paperbacks and hard cover books, magazines, newspapers, radio, and the movies. So let's not judge TV too harshly and unfairly. I enter here a plea for placing television in proper perspective with the other media of mass communication, and above all for recognizing its tremendous potential for informing and shaping public opinion. Remember how the Senate crime hearings on TV catapulted Estes Kefauver into the national limelight, how TV turned the tide in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon contest, how President Johnson reached into the heart and conscience of America with his recent civil rights address?

On TV, as on radio, there are opportunities galore, both on commercial and educational stations. And these opportunities will increase in the future now that all television sets manufactured from this year on must be capable of receiving programs in the ultra high frequency channels as well as the very high frequency ones.

There are six basic approaches for schools on TV:

1. Integration within an existing show. This calls for knowing the kind of audience the program appeals to and preparing material for that audience.

2. Spot, including news, announcements – these can take the form of slides, a piece of copy, a filmed segment or sound on film, and can usually vary from ten seconds to one minute depending on what the station can give you or what you can persuade the station to grant you.

3. Programs prepared by other groups, as by the National Education Association, your state education association, other educational groups, or some public-spirited company that is willing to pick up the production cost in part or in its entirety.

4. Your own programs, individual shows or a whole series of them. Clearly, this is the most difficult of your options and it calls for some one on the school staff with plenty of time and TV know-how.

5. Earn an A+ for salesmanship by convincing the TV station to prepare the show, using its own production crew and money – assisted of course by such staff members and pupils as may be required in the presentation.

6. Take the easy way out by reading the announcements put out regularly by the NEA and most state associations calling attention to pertinent educational TV and radio shows on stations in your area. Publicize these as best you can among your staff, pupils and citizens generally.

A look, now, at some of the things that have been done – and I must confess that I personally hesitate to talk about educational television in this historic city because so much of the pioneering effort in the medium was done right here – I remember visiting the Philadelphia public schools and Martha Gable in particular in the early 1950's to get the lowdown on educational TV – and I am sure there are many here who are far more expert on the subject than I.

At the national level, the National Education Association has done some remarkable things. You have noticed many of their spot announcements throughout the school year, but especially before and during American Education Week. The Association has also produced numerous films for TV – films which are also available for viewing by PTA's, other community organizations and student groups, too.

A recent half-hour film, "Our Schools Have Kept Us Free," shows how the American public school helped establish the nation, re-unite it after the Civil War, and create Americans from the many diverse people who came here during the peak immigration years. It also shows schools in action today. Another recently premiered film, "All in a Lifetime," depicts sixty years of educational progress since the time of the one-room schoolhouse at the turn of the century. It is narrated by Lowell Thomas.

Other expertly produced educational films, available through the NEA or state associations, include the following:

> "Summer Harvest" – 28½ minutes, black and white. A close-up of a school system that decides it can no longer afford "do nothing" vacations. Narrated by Sam Levinson, this film shows what the Wichita, Kansas schools offered to high school students, elementary pupils and preschool youngsters during the summer. Some courses are for academic credit, others for enrichment. All fields are covered.
>
> "The Time of Their Lives" – 28½ minutes, black and white. This film about kindergarten captures the magic of one morning in the lives of children as they gain from kindergarten some of the hundreds of experiences which will affect them throughout their school years.

Single-Topic Shows

> "Who Is Pete?" – A film that explores the many kinds of tests given youngsters, how tests are used, what they can and cannot reveal.
>
> "See How They Learn" – Shows how the three R's are taught in the primary grades.
>
> "Learning for Life" – A panoramic view of adult education in action.
>
> "The Hickory Stick" – Shows how a teacher faces fifth grade disciplinary problems. The home situation shows why.
>
> "Breakthrough in Education" – A recent discussion of challenges in education: the teaching machine, curriculum, TV teaching and quality teaching.
>
> "The Dropout" – Why Joe left school and what a community may do about this problem.

> "What Are Teaching Machines?" – How worthwhile is Kindergarten? How can I judge the effectiveness of the instruction my child is receiving? Should college-level courses be offered in high school? Should foreign languages be taught in elementary school?
>
> "How Does My Child Learn to Read?" – What are the educational values of field trips? What is a junior college? Do you teach children study habits? What is merit pay?
>
> "Will We Have Year 'Round Schools?" – Are we overemphasizing the gifted at the expense of the average child? What do physical fitness tests measure? How can a parent best criticize a teacher? What is educational television?
>
> "Are Our Schools Up-to-date?" – What is guidance? What should be done when a teacher and student clash? How would you define "motivation?" Are the schools doing anything in research? Are interscholastic sports over-emphasized?
>
> "How Much Homework Is Enough? – Do you teach the alphabet? Do you think school district consolidation improves education? Is there an over-emphasis on science and math today? Should there be a different teacher for each subject in elementary school?
>
> "Can We Help the Slow Learner?" – What is a language laboratory? Why don't we have a national curriculum? Are substitute teachers up to par? What is an "ungraded primary unit?"
>
> "Should I Know My Child's IQ?" – How can parents prepare their child for first grade? Why aren't all schools built on one standard plan? What is teacher tenure? What is meant by "core curriculum"?

Mention should be made, too, of the NEA's 1959 TV film "How Good Are Our Schools?" based on the Conant Report. I was not able to put my fingers on the size of the viewing audience for the NEA's recent productions, but I came across these rather impressive statistics for the Association's 1960 "School Story" TV series of thirteen programs. A total of 225 stations booked the series for approximately 3,250 half-hour programs. Some stations used the series a second or third time.

At the state level, numerous teachers groups have embarked on ambitious TV programming. The Michigan Education Association ran a thirty-six-week series aimed at a potential audience of close to four million viewers over ten of the state's major television stations. On the Pacific coast the California Teachers Association ran a fourteen-week series carried on commercial

TV outlets in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Bakersfield, Sacramento, and San Diego. The CTA provided talent and some production costs estimated at $10,000. The stations contributed an estimated $100,000 in time and production costs. Among the topics covered were frills, homework, ability grouping, and discipline. The Southern Section of the California Teachers Association has produced a weekly half-hour combination panel and filmed-on-location show on a variety of topics. In the corn country, the Nebraska State Education Association ran "Quiz Session," a thirteen-week series of thirty-minute telecasts featuring major school issues, including hot controversial subjects. And next door in the Sooner State, the Oklahoma Education Association has done an outstanding job with a series of telecasts over KETA-TV in Oklahoma City.

One of the most dramatic illustrations of an educational TV show was "The Point Pleasant Bond Issue" produced cooperatively by the Pennsylvania State Education Association and the New Jersey Education Association. Point Pleasant is a New Jersey community where bond issue referendums had gone down to defeat four times. By using film clips in the community and live portions done in the studio — all put together on video tape with background music added — the producers came out with a half-hour show that was carried on TV out of Philadelphia and New York City. Several weeks later, a fifth bond issue triumphed by the astounding margin of ten to one. I personally saw the program, and even after making allowances for my obvious bias, I can't see how anyone could have voted "no" after viewing the film. Incidentally, the program appeared in Philadelphia on a Sunday from 12:30 to 1:00 p.m., in New York from 1:00 to 1:30 p.m. the same day, and in Philadelphia again the following Tuesday night at 1:30 a.m. after the Jack Parr and the Doctor Joyce Brothers shows. There was more reaction from the 1:30 showing than from any of the others. What did it all cost? Just slightly in excess of $500 for filming and editing.

Strictly at the local school district level, time does not permit doing justice to the possibilities. A few might be mentioned. Columbus (Ohio), Houston (Texas), and University City (Missouri), have telecast their school boards in action. Surveys in Houston reveal that 100,000 people view the meetings. Scottsbluff, Nebraska, took residents on a ninety-minute tour of the town's spanking new high school via TV. Anchorage, Alaska, showed unrehearsed classes in action three times a week. The Chatham Education Association also put on unrehearsed telecasts in Savannah, Georgia with an instructional consultant cutting in on the sound periodically with interpretative commentary. Milwaukee; Wilmington, Delaware; Philadelphia; Baltimore; New York City; Seattle; and New Orleans are among other districts that have put on programs as separate productions or integrated with existing shows or both.

Dayton, Ohio, has used television as a gigantic report card to its residents, presenting curriculum, progress and problems through the medium of four filmed programs produced at the combined cost of $12,000. Previous annual reports had been made through a newspaper Sunday supplement at a higher cost to the school district. The four films, of course, are available for showing before civic groups, PTA's and other meetings.

A few years ago the local TV station came to the rescue of the Syracuse schools by means of a television show (cost to the station – over $2,500) which took the citizens of Syracuse on a tour of their schools, pointing out the scarcity of equipment, obsolescence of buildings, and the need for a more adequate budget.

But perhaps best known to all of you is the Alhambra, California, high school story. Remember a few years ago when everybody seemed to be going out of his way to show how bad U. S. education was (compared with the Russian variety)? CBS ran a network program which included brief interviews with four Alhambra students, three of whom were enrolled in "coed cookery." It made Admiral Rickover look omniscient in education. But then came the howls and protests – from reasonable, knowledgeable people. The result: a second CBS network show on the "World News Roundup" with Eric Sevareid as commentator. This broadcast featured four Alhambra graduates in attendance at the highly selective California Institute of Technology and their high school principal and, needless to say, presented a balanced picture of the school's curriculum.

Before leaving television, a few words should be said about National Educational Television, referred to by some as The Fourth Network. The ninety stations affiliated with NET are not a network in the sense that they have a coaxial cable enabling

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them to show the same programs simultaneously. With an $8 million budget ($6 million from the Ford Foundation), NET can produce shows beyond the resources of individual stations. NET now provides its stations with five hours of such programming each week for which it charges its affiliates nominal sums. Local stations may also draw shows from NET's growing library at low cost. High quality programming appears to be in the offing, in fact has already made its appearance. One recent documentary called "Changing World: Brazil: the Take-off Point" played to three million people tuned in to forty-four of NET's affiliated stations. Keep your eye on National Educational Television stations. They may have great potential for schools. NET has attracted several of commercial television's best producers. They along with others who work at the local station level may never be able to approach the audiences of commercial television, but sometimes the quality of the audience is more important than its size.

I suggested earlier that the importance of radio and television as media for telling the school story depends on the local station. It can range from great to little. A lone school system or a handful of school systems that have easy access to a radio and/or TV station have an obvious advantage over scores of school systems surrounding a vast city such as New York. There are too many of the latter to be able to crack the city's TV programs with any degree of regularity to be able to justify the expenditure of considerable time and money in thinking about and planning television programs. In radio, too, these suburban school systems are handicapped. They can get spot announcements without too much difficulty, perhaps an occasional interview type show, but perhaps they had better not count too heavily on city radio stations for getting their messages to their publics. Their own radio stations, too, may have limited value because of the strong competition from the city stations. Much depends, too, on the availability, or lack of it, of educational as opposed to commercial stations, the human and financial resources available to the school district for such programming, the importance of the local press in the communications process, and of course the school system's overall public relations objectives. There are, we know, more than a few systems that prefer "to let sleeping dogs lie."

It may very well be that in some districts a program of massive public involvement in the life of the schools is far more important than radio and television. It is not my assignment today to elaborate on public involvement, but the thought does lead me to the third of my assigned media — films — about which I shall comment but briefly. I say "briefly" because in a way I have already commented on films when I described the wonderful materials that are yours for the asking at nominal prices through the National Education Association or your state teachers association.

But there are other ready-made films and film strips. Just a few days ago there came across my desk a new half-hour motion picture produced by Telenews which records President Johnson's March 1 meeting in the White House with leaders of the National Education Association. Titled "President Johnson: Teacher in the White House," it is available for showing without charge through the NEA and state education associations. Or, there are the eight episodes of the prize-winning "Profiles in Courage" television series that will be available in the coming school year. The cost will be $300 for each subject but half of this can be met through National Defense Education Act funds when arrangements are made through the state educational agency. The series, of course, is based on the book of the same title by President John F. Kennedy, was produced in Hollywood and featured top Hollywood stars. It should have tremendous possibilities not only for use in the classroom but with PTA and other groups. The eight episodes to be made available are the following:

Anne Hutchinson and her fight for religious tolerance and freedom of conscience in Puritan New England.

John Adams, risking his political career in becoming defense counsel for British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre.

George Mason, fighting for inclusion of the Bill of Rights in the federal constitution.

John Marshall, as Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, withstanding Presidential pressure aimed at convicting Aaron Burr of treason.

Daniel Webster, overriding his antislavery convictions to support the 1850 compromise on slavery in hope of preserving the union.

Thomas Hart Benton, risking his Senate career through his opposition to slavery in the new states.

Grover Cleveland, as President, resisting pressures to give Civil War veterans a bonus and, instead, bringing about lower tariffs.

Woodrow Wilson, standing by his nomination of Louis D. Brandeis to the U. S. Supreme Court, despite widespread religious prejudice against Brandeis.

Among new film strips recently produced by the NEA to help educators advise parents about aspects of child development and learning are these (all, incidentally, in full color and accompanied by a recorded narration, a script containing the text and program suggestions, and a sixteen-page booklet to reinforce and elaborate on the message):

"Your Child and Discipline"
"Your Child's Mental Health"
"Your Child and Reading"
"Your Child and College"
"Your Child's Intelligence"
"Your Child's Health and Fitness"

The filmstrips run from fifteen to twenty minutes and cost either $7 or $8 apiece. There is one other NEA strip worthy of special mention, "Price Tag for Toby." Toby is an all-American youth. And the minimum price tag for educating Toby, the filmstrip suggests, is $720 per year, to pay for good teachers, instructional supplies, and supporting services. There is an accompanying narration, a script, and program guide. Produced by the NEA Committee on Educational Finance, it runs for twenty minutes and costs $5.

Of course you may prefer to produce your own films and film strips. The cost, depending on available personnel and equipment, can vary tremendously. In the world of business, costs are fantastic for film production. Volkswagen has a series of half hour films, each of which cost $250,000 to produce. The Humble Oil and Refinery Company estimates that its total cumulative investment in "current" films amounts to more than one million dollars. A rough rule of thumb is that it costs $1,000 per minute to produce a sound-color motion picture. But there are all kinds of ways of cutting costs. Perhaps your own staff is competent to do the job; or maybe there is a parent who is a professional cameraman who will do it out of sheer love for his school district; or maybe you can do it the St. Louis way: a documentary motion picture is being produced to explain the work of the St. Louis Public Schools and the vital part they play in the total life of the community. The film, entitled "With Each New Day," will be shown at parent meetings in all the schools. It will also be the basis for an hour-long television special, to be announced soon. The show will be sponsored by the Laclede Gas Company, which is producing the movie in cooperation with the Board of Education. After showings in the schools, prints of the film will be available for use by civic, school, church, and other interested organizations. The movie is being made by Guggenheim Productions, Inc., a St. Louis firm which has won international awards for its motion pictures. Crews from Guggenheim's studio worked in many schools during December and January, getting scenes in classrooms and other school situations.

So you see there's more than one way to skin the cat.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate two points, one made by me earlier in my presentation, the other by Doctor Skornia in his. First, my point, the importance of planning. Too often we do things in public relations without reflecting upon how the specific activities contribute – if at all – to the objectives of our public relations program. Too often we do things, or fail to do things, because that's the way it has always been. So, a final plea for drawing up a detailed plan to achieve maximum effectiveness in our communications efforts. As for Doctor Skornia's point, I would like to repeat this sentence: "How much you profit from what I have been able to do will depend very heavily on the *home* work you are willing and *able* to do after you leave here."

There are few easy answers in school public relations. Sound judgment, common sense, a willingness to admit mistakes, an always open mind to new developments and changing needs, an ability to distinguish the important from the unimportant, a total commitment to the need for two-way communication as a means of building up public understanding of the power of education and the characteristics of good schools – this state of mind is probably even more important than the possession of the required technical skills. In my opening paragraphs I alluded to the fact that school public relations is both an art and a science. The "science" is the easy part of it. It can be mastered without too much difficulty. It is the "art" part of the definition that taxes one's imagination, ingenuity, and creativity. It is the "art" part of the definition that separates the men from the boys.

CHAPTER 10

The Implications of "Mass Communication and Political Science" for School Public Relations

THEODORE L. RELLER

It is my responsibility to examine the research reported from the field of political science and to suggest its possible meaning for the field of school public relations. In doing this I shall also indicate what appear to me to be areas of needed research in the school public relations field.

I shall use the term school public relations in a rather broad sense. I shall not confine my remarks to public relations programs which are designed to lead to precise, limited objectives in relatively short periods of time. I am not interested only or even primarily in the passing of a school tax or school bond election. In fact, it is my view that attention needs to be given primarily to the problem of communication regarding educational matters – philosophy, purposes, values, curriculum, results – and that shorter intensive programs will then take on a different character.

The last decade is one in which the "inadequacy" of communication about education has been well demonstrated in the eyes of many. Much desirable change has occurred in educational programs. It is interesting to speculate regarding the reasons for this change or perhaps better regarding the model or models which explain the ways in which it was brought (or came) about. What was the role of the educational profession? of the academic university professor? of the educational administrator? of the boards of education? of the state departments of education? of the federal government? of the development of new knowledge? of the external challenge? During this period of rapid change what communication was going on? was it planned? by whom?

It could be argued that the last decade indeed was one in which the teacher and school administrator were not in a leadership role. That much educational communication was going on – but that much of it escaped from the "control" or "influence" of the teacher and the administrator. On the other hand, it could also be argued that what occurred in the last decade could only have taken place because of the preceding decades of preparation for it. The great drives to provide some fuller measure of equality of opportunity through improved reading achievement, better provision for the gifted and for the culturally different were built upon decades of commitment in this direction in the profession itself – though for some reason it did not previously come through in as striking a manner – or at least did not gain public interest with the same intensity or desire to make application. I shall return to some of these matters – but I now wish to examine in a more ordered way some of the implications of this paper of Doctor Pool.

In his opening paragraph, Doctor Pool notes that "interpersonal influence" is also a possible definition for communication. If the study of political science focuses on how people influence each other, it is a study in communication but not necessarily one in mass communication. He further notes that while there have been many books over the centuries in political science which deal with communication, it is only recently that works focus directly on mass communication as such.

In the last century we have had "the emergence of an extraordinary phenomenon – societies organized around mass media systems." The mass media "dominate the communications of society." These striking statements should be examined carefully. What are the implications of the view that society indeed is organized around the mass media systems? Does this suggest that the mass media are in the position in which they may exert a truly extraordinary influence upon the direction the society takes? Even upon values, insights, commitments? What does this suggest regarding the control of the mass media systems? A somewhat related question may be, which is the more powerful educator for thousands of our children and young people – the home, the school or TV? If TV, what is and should be the nature of its utilization – who should be involved in its control and in what manner? And at the adult level, to what extent are the mass media "directing" the society, shaping its values and achievements? While these questions do not relate to public relations programs as such, they have large relevance to the major purpose of such programs, namely, the development of knowledge about education and the related question of action with reference to it. They also raise the basic question which receives too little attention in our society, namely, what is the relationship between schooling and education.

It is then observed that there have been "exaggerated beliefs in the efficiency of the propaganda," the "myth of the all-powerful propagandist." Those interested in voting behavior in school elections should be interested in the statement that "few votes are switched by the mass media." One might ask, are votes switched by a combination of mass media activities when combined with other action programs? If so, what combinations, if any, are of most promise?

More important to the educator, however, than the fact that votes are not changed through the mass media in a campaign, is the statement that the mass media are "the source of news" and that in a campaign people get the information they use to argue and define issues from the mass media. Thus, "the effects of the mass media must be conceived much more broadly than simply as persuasion of people to accept the views presented in the media. The mass media have many more subtle and complex effects both through what they say and through their existence as institutions." Attention therefore must be turned to "many phenomena besides persuasion." Possibly campaigns would be more successful if they concentrated less upon attempts at changing votes.

Doctor Pool states that campaigns: define the issues on the basis of which voters decide how to vote; mobilize voter interest and partisanship; heighten political consciousness; invigorate "the politics of a democracy." Thus campaigns effect attention, information, audience interest and action. Here would appear to be a major area for research in school public relations. Attention has been so largely concentrated upon the results in terms of "votes" that little attention has been given to these matters. Given the basic commitments and responsibilities of the educational service, one might expect and wish that it would be a leader in research in these matters. Much evidence is needed regarding the effects (other than votes cast) of educational campaigns.

The consideration of "content analysis as a device to compare political propaganda in different times and places" is also of large significance for those interested in public school relations. Descriptive political content analysis may "permit a society to examine itself and see where it stands on the great controversial issues." When used for inferential as well as descriptive purposes "It can be used as a means of determining the secret strategies of power holders who are in a position to influence the mass media." It should be recognized that content analysis assisted by the computer has now become a sophisticated research technique which can contribute much to the field of education. Given the growing interest in and conflicts in our society regarding education and its control, political content analyses of the propaganda of various groups would appear highly desirable. It might indeed serve to define and sharpen some of the conflicts and thus enable the society to make more soundly based decisions.

Doctor Pool's interesting discussion of Aesopi[illegible]nguage as a way through which dictatorial rulers attempt t[illegible]mmunicate while desiring to maintain secrecy may have im[illegible]ations for those engaged in or interested in various public enterprises in any society. For indeed even in a democratic society they may at times be ambivalent in their wishes on secrecy and publicity. They may wish to communicate regarding a matter while not committing themselves regarding the details or specific form of it. They too may be engaged in testing to determine or more fully define steps they wish to take if not what is "allowed." Such "testing" may reveal the position of various people or groups in power positions.

With the growing interest in and acceptance of the politics of education as an important field of research, it would appear that those interested in public school relations should turn major attention in this direction. What is it that political leaders have been and are expressing in the mass media regarding the educational service which they do not state openly? What messages are being conveyed to elites? to the mass? to the naive? Is the administrator or other person in a leadership role only ambivalent regarding the issue or is he communicating a view regarding a matter which the society is unwilling to accept candidly? In the relatively unsophisticated educational world there has been too little study of the work of the educational propagandist.

Those interested in public relations programs may well note the experience in psychological warfare and advertising which indicates that it *works* when it "provides factual information on the basis of which people will act to achieve their own values and preferences, not when it tries to modify values." This is not unrelated to the studies in anthropology which suggest the relative slowness with which changes in the values of the people of societies do occur – and to wonder whether they may not be significantly influenced by mass communication in "societies organized around mass communication systems." But research regarding change in values in such societies organized around mass communication systems still remains to be done. Matters of degree of control, saturation, time span, and relation to other values in the culture need to be explored. Value change and the effect of mass communication may also relate to the nature of the pluralism in the society.

The systematic effects of the mere fact that mass media exist is suggested as a most important political effect with which to deal. This relates significantly to questions of participation and alienation. Doctor Pool expresses the view that mass media cannot serve all of the functions that can be provided for by interpersonal organizations but that the mass media probably aid such organizations in some respects while undermining them in others. Thus TV reduced the power of local political machines. Yet he notes the serious deficiencies of the mass media in comparison with face-to-face organizations.

The educator interested in school public relations must recognize that there are two (or more) modes of communication and that they may indeed serve different functions. "For maximum effectiveness they must be linked together." Too frequently the educator has not recognized this fact or has been unable to mount the different communication efforts simultaneously and consequently has been ineffective. Mass media must be used to get the "message out" but if it is to be acted upon, organization directed toward action must also be effective. "People seldom act on information received directly from the mass media alone."

In the discussion of the developing countries Doctor Pool examines the problem of various institutions (political parties, for example) in achieving sound growth when they lack the assistance of the most effective available instrument (radio) for getting the message out. This resulted from the restrictive control of mass media and may indeed have prevented "the development of stable political institutions." He notes that the "mass media need to be linked to the most important institutions of a society if those institutions are to make their potential contribution." Again this raises the question of the relation of the mass media to education in our society. Should education be employing mass media such as radio and TV to a greater extent? With the growing demand for and interest in adult or continuing education are closer bonds or working relations necessary? Are educational institutions continuing to carry on too largely as if the mass media had not arrived and achieved a certain maturity?

I am especially interested in the suggestion that the growth and decline of the urban political machine was importantly related to the changing communication system of the country. I wonder if there is sufficient information regarding the changing communication system in the hands of educators interested in public school relations. Or regarding the different communications systems in effect in different parts of the country — that of the core culturally different city, for example, in relation to the suburban fringe in the metropolitan complex. What about the mass communication systems of our metropolitan areas and the necessity for a metropolitan governmental organization for education? Perhaps the mass media mean the end of the separate school districts — the balkanized metropolitan areas as surely as they killed the political machines.

I wish also to call attention to the statement that in a free society "contemporary decision theory is increasingly noting that the recognition and identification of an issue (interest articulation in common jargon) is the most vital part of the decision process." Further that issue identification is highly unstructured and I believe desirably so. Some studies are needed however of the processes of and parties to issue identification. Have "leaders" in education been playing too small a role in this regard? How might they be prepared to contribute more significantly? What about the role of the mass media in this process? Has it performed well?

Finally I wish to raise the question of research regarding the effectiveness of propaganda or mass communication in relation to the social or cultural climate. The climate may, of course, be the product of or at least greatly influenced by the mass media. But how does one assess climate and to what extent does it need to be considered in an information dissemination and social action program? Educators might well have talked long about improving education of the culturally different with little effect – except for the civil rights movement. In fact they did, and then were unprepared for the development. This movement has created a vast opportunity for redefinition and achievement of a greater measure of equality of opportunity. Thus the element of time or timeliness is an important factor to consider in examining social or educational change. To what extent is, can or should the "time" be created and what again is the role of the mass media in this process?

In conclusion, I wish to commend Doctor Pool for opening up so many doors through his analysis of the literature in the field of mass communication and political science. His analysis has suggested many research efforts in education which I believe would add greatly to the understanding and effectiveness of those engaged in school public relations. Not only are the many lines of research indicated above open – but many more complex ones which would bring these approaches and directions in relation to one another. Our research should not attempt to indicate only whether this or that theory or practice would be of worth, but whether it is of worth under varying circumstances and situations. For we are dealing with changing climates, changing "values", changing media, changing knowledge, changing leadership competencies. We must hold things still long enough to study them and we must probe deeply into specific areas and factors while recognizing that the validity of our conclusions depends upon seeing them in the larger context. From the area of mass communication and political science those interested in school public relations programs can indeed secure many helps. In turn as they delve more deeply into the many issues demanding study (research) a contribution can be made to education and to those in related disciplines who are interested in mass communication.

Part III

NEEDED RESEARCH

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CHAPTER 11

Needed Research and Development in Mass Communication

JACK CULBERTSON

Seminar participants not presenting papers were given the task of "defining or describing needed research in mass communications with or without reference to school public relations." They carried out the task by preparing brief papers. My assignment was to summarize and organize the ideas set forth in these papers.

Before summarizing the ideas presented in the twenty-nine papers, the widely varying backgrounds of the seminar participants deserve mention. These participants represented such differing institutions as schools of education, schools of journalism, schools of communication arts, research centers, divisions of social science, school districts, national organizations, federal agencies, private commercial organizations and departments of psychology, radio and television, speech, and English. Even though the number and diversity of specializations represented were impressive, all of the seminar participants had a common and deep interest in communication.

Early in the seminar the need for a "marriage" of students of mass communication and school public relations experts was emphasized. Since the suggestion would involve a substantial number of persons with widely differing backgrounds, there are undoubtedly more meaningful analogies than that of "marriage." The concept of an *emergent family of experts* in communication research and practice would be another possibility. (Perhaps an orphaned family in that there are no longer "Renaissance men" in our society to provide general perspectives for those pursuing diverse specializations.) Regardless of how the group is described or labeled, the problem at issue is much broader than communication and school public relations: namely, can a substantial number of highly trained social scientists and practicing specialists work together to attain better solutions to important problems in an increasingly complex society?

There are several important issues which will have to be faced and resolved if corporate efforts are to be advanced and if communication research is to be of aid to specialists in school public relations. Some of these issues can be illustrated by quoting selectively from papers prepared by seminar participants. One writer, for example, noted:

> I am not enamored with the past results of interdisciplinary research nor with the beneficial effects of meetings conducted for this purpose. Research collected under the communication rubric is somewhat anarchic in its having origins in a multitude of disciplines, but I see nothing terribly wrong in this. I am far more skeptical of research fostered by the large scale interdisciplinary "team" projects which foundations and governments are prone to sponsor.

Running through a substantial number of papers, however, was a view counter to the one just expressed, namely, that the resources of a number of disciplines need to be used in concert to advance mass communication research and utilization. One author took the following view, for example:

> This seminar will synthesize existing research. It . . . will help map the road ahead, but it must also identify and describe the method of travel. May I suggest we consider such terms as "interdisciplinary", "team", "in depth", and "organized".

A related issue has to do with the type of specialist needed to advance communication research and practice. Most writers assumed that communication specialists will receive intensive training in *one* of the traditional disciplines. However, one writer offered a counterview:

> . . . there is need in our time for a new kind of specialist. He should be a person broadly educated in the liberal arts of his time. He must also be a person who has foraged widely in the traditional subject matters and the new frontiers of the arts, the sciences, and the new technologies of communication. He must be a person who can work with the traditional specialists and non-specialists in communication alike in helping all to more successful communication with each other, in research on the problems they face, and in making better adaptations of their changing time. In short, they will become the first communicologists in the full significance of that word.

A third issue clearly evident in the papers relates to the use of theory in promoting communication research. One person argued for a strong emphasis on theory development:

> The best chance for advancing knowledge seems to lie in the further development and refinement of special theories now in existence that do have application to limited ranges of data *and* the study of possibilities for consolidating and relating these theories where it is possible to do so.

Another author, on the other hand, questioned current communication theory particularly from the standpoint of such "metaphorical" concepts as "flow of information", "channel", and "noise". While admitting that theoretical models can be useful, the author maintained that they can:

> . . . lead us astray if we are not vigilant, and I believe that in some situations they have led us astray. . . . One thing above all we must be careful about. We must be careful not to be ruled by the metaphor we are using. We must control it. Especially must we never forget it is the people we are talking about, not messages, codes, destinations, sources, or noise.

Another writer, from still another perspective, questioned the relevance of communication theory as follows:

> American lip service to formal education has allowed the establishment of a vast and under-resourced bureaucracy of learning. . . . It remains to be seen whether an advanced industrial civilization can long so misallocate its resources. And communications theory which is myopic, even blind, to such ironies is in my judgment sterile – useful for purposes of academic mobility or network PR programs, but not very helpful in clarifying alternatives for the agenda of an experiment in cultural democracy.

Another point at issue bears upon the most useful way of defining communication for the field of school public relations. In this regard some writers questioned the value of studying "mass communication" in isolation when it is defined as the "one-way transmission of messages to large groups and audiences." One author, for example, argued:

> It seems extremely artificial to attempt a rigid separation of mass communication research from the body of research that deals with the communication process generally. Investigators have become aware that the effect of mass communication depends heavily on what kind of interpersonal communication takes place during and after the exposure to the "mediated" message. There *is* a need to establish clear conceptual differences between mass communication and interpersonal communication, but we cannot arbitrarily exclude the latter from our discussion.

One other issue deserves to be noted. It bears upon the relationship existing between those practicing school public relations and those studying communication. Some writers saw value in this relationship. However, the observations of a director of school public relations revealed a more critical view:

> Unlike the farmer, I continue to employ the craft of communications as I learned it while serving as a newspaper reporter. Unlike the farmer, I have not caught sight of any contemporary who is harvesting 100 bushels of public understanding while I am reaping only 65. From time to time I cast side glances at my contemporaries in the field of school public relations in the hope that I shall discover a degree of sophistication in their processes and products that can be adapted to the setting in which I labor. I exchange publications with them; I share experiences with them; and I trade ideas with them through newsletters of the National School Public Relations Association. In all of this give and take I find that they too tend to be plodding craftsmen. After eleven years of observing the school PR scene, I am ready to conclude that we school PR practitioners operate without benefit of scientifically derived knowledge about communications. We have our Kindreds and McCloskeys, but we pay them little heed.

In summary, then, several issues were evident in the differing papers of seminar participants. Can and should theory play an important role in communication research and practice? What is the most appropriate definition of communication? What is the most effective way of deploying and coordinating the efforts of scholars studying communication? Can constructive relationships be developed between those studying and those practicing communication? What type of specialist is needed to advance the study and practice of communication?

NEEDED RESEARCH

The process of communication is complex and it is not easy to classify research by single variables. However, for the purpose of convenience, the research ideas projected by the writers will be organized under the following headings: communicators, message and media, audience and effects. Not all writers, it will be noted, limited themselves to mass communication in its stricter sense. Neither were the ideas limited to school public relations. Specifically, ideas about needed research in communication tended to fall within one of four contexts: the classroom, school and community, society, and the international arena. Direct quotes will now be used to illustrate the range of ideas presented in the papers.

Communicators

Psychometric and Personnel Studies. The level of our knowledge about the patterns of traits, interests and abilities which characterize successful professional communicators is modest to say the most. There are few, if any, national norms for soundly-developed measures of ability and aptitude for clearly-defined communicator groups. This continues to be true despite the emergence of various distinctive groups of communication specialists (science writers, photojournalists, etc.) who might well possess highly distinctive skills and abilities. Schools of journalism, unlike schools of medicine and law, have no nationally-correlated system for screening student applicants or for amassing data on predictors of scholastic or professional achievement.

For work in the psychometric area to have real predictive utility for mass communications personnel problems, there must be far more research done on criteria of successful professional performance. At present, such relatively crude criteria as ratings and sheer survival on a staff often are all that can be used to validate predictor data. Tests of greater sensitivity and subtlety need to be developed. Some work done at the University of Wisconsin on measures of "encoder intent" and "encoding empathy" seem rather promising. These measures use the semantic differential to determine the extent to which a communicator succeeds in conveying the connotative "flavor" which he intended in a piece of writing. This approach goes beyond just a concern with communication "correctness" and begins to tap the communicator's facility in the more difficult aspects of writing and conveying intent.

News Source-News Reporter Relationships. Several interesting studies have been done by Carter and his associates on the array of problems which confront the news reporter and the news source when the latter is a professional person such as a physician or school superintendent. This situation brings out wide disparities in the value systems and role prescriptions of news reporters and such professional-men news sources. Carter found numerous specific behaviors which assisted or impeded interaction. These studies shed much light on barriers to understanding and cooperation between sources and reporters.

A broadening of these pioneering studies to include a wider array of professionals – particularly educational administrators – serving as news sources would be of great value in portraying sources of frustration, misunderstanding and conflict between educators and the men with whom they must deal to get vitally necessary material into the media. Useful recommendations could flow from such studies which should reduce barriers to mutually desired goals.

Craft Standards Versus Audience Behavior. An area of considerable interest in mass communications research is one in which the investigator notes the ways in which the traditions and historic practices of communicators persist beyond their time and in the face of evidence that certain "craft standards" no longer have utility from the point of view of audiences. MacLean recently has said that editors and reporters appear for the most part to have only vague and generalized images of their news consumers – the readers. They are concerned mainly with feedback on their efforts from their fellow craftsmen. Most newsmen, he said, seem to lack sensitivity to the needs and interests of the ordinary reader. If you have learned your craft, he continues, you can continue to produce what people will buy and read to an extent without knowing much about them.

A number of interesting studies have been done which suggest that time-honored newspaper practices, having the sanction of tradition or craftsmanship, actually are damaging to the degree of readership obtained. Since audience attention to an utilization of the paper's content is a prime objective of publishing, we have here a situation of conflict between craft standards and audience behavior. The most "visible" such instances arise when research shows the nature of audience response to certain persisting makeup and layout techniques in newspapers. Subheads, intended to sustain reader interest in a long story, cue the reader out instead. Jumper stories, intended to permit more "packing" of the front page with more different articles, lose enormous numbers of readers at the point of the jump. This sort of loss is more than the gain in average readership for smaller stories on page one versus average readership for such stories on the inside.

News Management. We must recognize that governments do in fact manipulate public sentiment in varying degrees and therefore our study must include an understanding of censorship, government ownership or supervision of the mass media, management of news of governmental activity and the various public relations and propaganda techniques which are designed to place it in a favorable light.

Gatekeepers. Very little is known of the key "gatekeepers" in our present mass communication system. As "gatekeepers", we include not only the city hall reporter and the editing desk man, but also the TV network program director, the advertising account executive, the government informational officer, and (even) the Public Relations director of the school system. They have in common the fact that they all select from a large body of information a much smaller portion that is released to the public. About these key figures, we know little beyond their demographic description in academic masters' theses and their impressionistic assessment by Martin Mayer, Vance Packard, et al. We should know more explicitly the values the communicators hold regarding human behavior, ethics, and the way they see their respective audiences (what they "want", what they "need", etc.). We would also like to know how these values relate to performance on the job and, ultimately, what is the effect on the public.

There is much to be learned about the daily news flow – from reporter or stringer to wire bureau to wire copydesk to trunk wire to state wire to local wire editor to newspaper reader. We urgently need broader-based (i.e. nationwide) content and news flow studies with particular attention to the "gatekeepers" in our mass communications system. . . . The majority of our citizens, unknowingly for the most part, are almost wholly dependent upon one or both of these news sources for most of the news of events beyond their local community. This is true whether the citizen gets his news in headlines on radio, in capsules from TV, or in more detail from his newspaper. Given their vital role in the dissemination of news, the wire services have been much neglected in scholarly research.

Also closely related to this need are studies which focus on the increasingly influential role being played by the public relations practitioner in the dissemination of information to the public, or in some cases, its blockage. To an increasing, and in the opinion of some an alarming, degree our news media are depending upon the public relations practitioners for their news coverage of business, education, government, and social agencies. We need several comprehensive studies of the newsflow which focus on that portion coming from public relations sources, how and whether it is edited in the newsroom, and what portion and what content of our news media is of public relations origin and thus designed more to influence than to inform.

More research attention should be focused on the practitioner who today is an important and integral part of our public information system. Who is he? What are his qualifications? What are his values? What are his ethics? There could be most useful research done on the practitioner along the lines suggested by Irwin Ross in his insightful chapter in *The Image Merchants.* What is this new member of the public information team doing to our channels of communication, to the public dialogue, and to himself in living "The PR Life"?

Message and Media

Language Behavior. Another area which has encountered rapid expansion in recent years is the study of oral and written communication on a scale made possible by computer developments. Large samples of language behavior (including mass communication) can be studied in a relatively short period of time by the modern technology. The field of psycholinguistics is principally involved. . . . It does seem obvious . . . that the field is expanding at a meteoric rate and undeniably is of central importance to the study of communication. Comparative studies of language behavior between languages and between cultures (or subcultures) using the same language should provide important conclusions in this area.

Organization of Message. I recommend the following research objectives in relation to instructional television:

1. That the method of systematic empirical course development for instructional television be rigorously applied.
2. That the components of such course development be examined to determine their individual and interactive significance and optimum uses.
3. That short-cuts yielding approximately as good results be developed in order to make the method feasible for large scale application and use.

The Changing Newspaper. At present, there are many tantalizing clues which suggest that "news" is undergoing some significant redefinition in mass communication practice. Newspapers have swung noticeably in the past decade to a definition of news which is far more inclusive of science, education, religious and economic material. News staffs are being manned in ways which depart from the past. On larger newspapers, the general assignment reporter is giving way to the specialized reporter. News gathering assignments and the nature of news beats assigned to reporters are shifting. At editors' conferences and at other self-appraisal sessions it is said that the old news-is-conflict idea is evolving toward much more frequent identification of news-is-steady-progress. Some have argued that the trend toward single-newspaper cities is likely to hasten such a shift since single-ownership papers can be more concerned with socially-significant content since there need not be a scramble for street sales or subscriptions. It seems clear that key communication executives — publishers, editors, broadcasters — are rethinking the nature of news.

Teaching Machines. Where do teaching machines truly belong in the educational enterprise?

Are they best employed with the atypical pupil?

Are they most valuable for corrective and remedial work?

Can the most sophisticated machines be produced at a marketable price?

Slanted News. People have been told and are being told by many powerful groups that the news is slanted and that they are not receiving all the news. Research is needed to find out what the effect has been of the campaign to discredit news media. If there is widespread disbelief as to what one reads in a newspaper, hears on the air, or sees on television — we in school public relations need to know it. The problem is compounded because the public schools also are being discredited by the same people who discredit news media. Both the source of the news is suspect and the media is suspect.

Audience

Disadvantaged Publics. We need to know much more about the disadvantaged. For example, how much information do citizens of the disadvantaged publics have concerning their schools, how accurate is this information, and through what channels does it reach them?

In communicating with citizens of the disadvantaged publics what approaches are most effective with respect to: (a) channels and media of communication and (b) content and vocabulary of reporting?

In their relations with citizens of the disadvantaged publics how faithful are school officials to such basic principles of public relations as continuity, honesty, attractiveness, and adjustment of information?

Different Occupational Groups. Adults read different types of reading materials. The amount and kind of reading material available to adults seems to vary according to occupation. The problem is what are the reading materials available to various occupational groups and what reading materials are read most by occupational groups.

Multiple Publics and School Support. Research is needed to explain why these conditions are true:

1. I found no relationship between the level of educational achievement and support of schools.
2. I found no relationship between ability to pay and willingness to pay.
3. I was disturbed by the negative attitudes of many older citizens. Here was the first generation of Americans who were benefiting from Social Security, a fund made possible by contributions of both older and younger working citizens, and yet many senior citizens looked upon Social Security as a community responsibility but did not view school needs in a similar light.
4. I was shocked by the number of citizens in lower income groups who support public education, but do not know how to use the voting machines and end up casting a blank vote. The average blank vote for our city was 20% of those who came to the polls. But in the poorer areas where our support was highest, the blank vote was 40 - 70%. Of 420,000 voters who came to the polls, 83,000 did not record their vote. (In a special election when we won, and where only one issue was on the ballot, the blank vote

dropped tremendously — but still 1,600 did not record their vote.)

5. I was troubled by the fears which generate rumors, tensions, racial overtones, religious partisanship, or purely selfish motives.
6. I was concerned that the city's professional and business leaders live in the suburbs. Their concern for local schools is not as predominant as in the communities where they live; and their influence in the inner city is diminished even though they may own property and pay taxes in the city. To the discontented taxpayer they represent a "foreign" influence when election issues arise.
7. And, last but not least, I was disturbed at the inadequacy of public education. Most of these voters are products of our own educational system. Somehow we as teacher failed them if they demonstrate a lack of social responsibility for the general welfare of our society.

Needs of the General Public. The problem of stimulating the general public to a consideration and expression of those of its needs that it wants met through public education and is willing to finance deserves attention.

The Publics of Public Relations Practitioners. The purpose of this brief paper is to call attention to the neglected first step in public relations — factfinding — and to urge research that would assist school public relations practitioners in obtaining information about their publics before they begin disseminating information to those publics.

Customer Wants. I would probably urge that a focus be developed from the standpoint of the traditional public relations emphasis that one find out what the customers want and need, even if this means finding out (as I personally hypothesize that it will) that the whole enterprise of the public school as at present conceived has been carried much too far, and we should get rid of compulsory schooling just as we got rid of compulsory church attendance or government support of strike-breaking.

The Student. Studies could be organized to determine the knowledge level which the student brings to the classroom, either initially or as he progresses through school, which was obtained from mass media.

Effects

The Effect of The Authoritative Voice. Name-brand advertisements of "buy my product" and name-brand proclamations of "buy my opinion" are subjected upon the public by mass communications media. These products and opinions, fabricated from physical and mental raw materials, are presented to the public as best to use and best to think. This system of "group think" planned by the manufacturer and promoted by the media, compromises compassion and sense of respect for the integrity of the individual. The perpetuation of such preconceived intellectual lopsidedness fails to meet the First Amendment need for free and responsible media of mass communication.

Hypothesis: The "authoritative voice" fashioned and dispensed by the mass communications media for public consumption is detrimental to public education.

Community Impact. White has enthusiastically proposed "a grand twenty-year study" of a community and the people who constitute it in terms of what mass communication does to it and them. He believes that a team of highly competent research scholars from several branches of the behavioral sciences, by utilizing a case study approach to a satisfactory sample of individuals in a test community, over a period of at least two decades, could finally begin to determine the role of the mass media in their true perspective.

Saturation. How are individuals affected by the frequency of communication on a problem or issue through the use of mass media? What are the differences in impact when "saturation" is achieved through mere repetition and through communicating the same message by means of a variety of presentations? What are the differences in reaching the "saturation level" through a single medium of communication and through several media?

Quality of Communications. An appraisal of reactions – positive to negative, clear to confusing, accurate to inaccurate, acceptance to rejection, etc. – in relation to the quality of communications and the performance of educational services in a single school district is much needed.

Dissemination to Educators. Important also is the dissemination of knowledge within the ranks of educators. As things presently stand, dissemination programs are not very successful. What can mass communications do to improve this situation?

Special Functions of Communication. A promising area of "effects" research is the functional approach to attitudes and to the handling of information. It is apparent from Berelson and others that people use the mass media not only for information but for a variety of other purposes (escape, vicarious participation, etc.). We do not understand the implications of these functions very well, nor do we yet have adequate means of measuring them. Above all, studies of the media audience need to go beyond the usual demographic descriptions to assess the audience in social-psychological terms.

Immunization Research. One of the most promising areas in which a great deal of research has been done in recent years is that of reducing (contra producing) attitude change. The work of McGuire using ideas of defensive arousal and of Tannenbaum using Congruity theory are worthy of mention. There are many cases of public relations having the goal of reducing rather than increasing change and the implications of this "immunization research" may be great. It is apparent, for example, that we cannot just assume that the mechanisms of reducing change are the same as those which produce attitude change.

Manipulation of Attitudes. Can attitudes be manipulated and what are dangers involved in attitude change?

Communication Failure. Why do our communications aimed at a better understanding of the schools so often fail to achieve their objective?

Effect on Deprived Children. With the present national emphasis on the fight against poverty, there needs to be serious examination of the contribution that can be made by radio and television to a level of stimulation — preferably early in the lives of youngsters — that can prevent the kind of intellectual stagnation that occurs in children if they are not sufficiently stimulated.

NEEDED DEVELOPMENT IN MASS COMMUNICATION

Although the papers focused mainly upon research, a number of writers presented ideas which might properly be described as developmental. They had to do, in other words, with devising better ways to put knowledge already available into practice (as contrasted with creating new knowledge). The developmental ideas set forth in the papers can be classified and labeled as follows: (1) a five-year public relations project incorporating the customary phases of development, field testing, and demonstration to be carried out jointly by an institution of higher learning and a school district; (2) the creation of a research center to advance knowledge about communication; (3) the design of new media to enable educational leaders and policy makers to understand important policy problems confronting the schools; and (4) technical studies of the effectiveness of school-community communications. Each of these ideas will be discussed in some detail.

Five-Year Public Relations Project

This project, proposed by a school public relations expert, would develop distinctive "communication programs for each of the broad publics serviced by the school system." Specifically, the programs would be oriented to five publics: the board of education, staff, pupils, parents and the community at large. Information would be developed on the following subjects for each public: school programs, school policies, performance of pupils and staff, school problems and practices designed to solve or ameliorate problems. By using mass communication, a "package" of information would be developed for transmission to each of the relevant publics.

Five task forces would be organized to develop, field test and demonstrate a distinctive communications program for each of the publics identified. Each task force, in other words, would be concerned with one public and with developing an approach to informing the chosen public through the effective use of mass media. Members of the task force would include scholars from a number of disciplines where there is interest in mass communication.

As projected, there would be approximately ten scholars on each task force. They would devote one-fifth of their time to the project over the five-year period. The chairman of the task force would be responsible to the school district. To aid members of task forces, there would be special consultants who would help members with specific problems. There would be some personnel on each task force who would possess the technical skills needed to package materials (after the scholars had provided the needed knowledge basis for the project).

The first two years' work would be devoted to developing the communication programs for the different publics. During the second two years they would be field tested and revised. In the final year they would be demonstrated in three school districts in addition to the one where the programs were prepared.

The first stage in developing the program would be to get for each of the task forces a working paper which would set forth a proposed plan for "structuring the communications program." Each of the consultants would then prepare a paper evaluating and suggesting modifications in the structure of the program. The proposed changes and evaluations would be discussed and promising new ideas would be identified. The original proposal would be rewritten and would serve as a basis for developing the package. Techniques would then be developed, materials would be prepared and these would be put together in a package. Following this would be an extensive period of field testing. Involved in this phase would be the development of suitable evaluation instruments to determine the adequacy of each of the packages. After further revisions and refinements, the package would be field tested during the fifth year in the demonstration centers.

The author concludes his proposal with the following observation:

> Out of the project I have proposed should come new perceptions about the role of mass communications in the administration of the public-school system. Perhaps the project is unrealistic in its scope. If it is, I see little hope for overcoming the barriers that thwart the development of a comprehensive school public-relations program; I see little hope that we shall depart from the sporadic activity characteristic of existing PR programs; and I see little hope of translating craftsmanship into professional behavior.

Research and Development Center

One writer, a scholar from a school of communications, presented the idea of developing a research center oriented toward the study of practical problems. More specifically, the writer suggested that such a center might focus with great usefulness on "political communication." This he defined generally as "communication dealing with the government of individual and collective needs." He noted that in this type communication "information is not simply gathered and communicated to the decision-making executive aspects of the system, and the decision then communicated to the effective aspects." Rather, in a political system "information is recoded and recombined, new alternatives are created, in the decision-making process. This recoding and recombining is defined as a communication problem and one peculiarly susceptible to a psychological approach." The psychological study of attitude organization and change is essential in the study of political communication; therefore, the area is a fruitful one for communication researchers.

The author indicated that a study center might well draw upon the experience of other organizations already developed within universities such as multi-disciplinary centers, institutes, departments and schools. He maintained that these latter organizations have often been organized around problems that are similar not in their internal logic but in their practical aspects. Examples of such problems are juvenile delinquency, transportation, civil defense and communications. Although the researcher, in these arrangements, derives his questions from the perspective of substantive problems, his major goal is not the solution of these problems so much as it is the development of new knowledge. This knowledge, in turn, has direct relevance to the problems.

The projected center would develop a comprehensive program of research in political communication. This research, suggested the writer, might be organized in terms of what he calls "systems." These systems, he argued, could be studied relatively independently of one another. At the same time comparison of findings in one system with those in another would be meaningful. Such comparisons could lead to further understanding and study of the commonalities of different systems of political communication and the divergencies peculiar to individual systems.

The writer lists the following major systems for study: (1) the interest group (which may be organized or unorganized); (2) the general public (made up of many interest groups and some individuals who are not a part of any interest group); (3) the bureaucratic hierarchy including planners and experts; (4) the decision-making national hierarchy including the bureaucrats; (5) the nation (both the general public and the decision makers); (6) the world, including many nations (both decision makers and publics are involved).

Within these systems research might focus upon two major functions of communication. The first of these is to relay from the receptive aspects of the system to the executive aspects the perception of "information, broadly defined, and including perception of previous decisions, on the basis of which decisions are made." Secondly, information about the decision to the effective aspects of the system would also have to be relayed.

One could imagine a number of researchers contributing to the study of the various systems described above. Scholars interested in small group communication, for example, might be deeply interested in studying interest groups. Students of mass communication, among others, would be interested in studying samples of the general publics' behavior in relation to the functions described. Sociologists and anthropologists have already shown much interest in communication in bureaucratic hierarchy and would undoubtedly be attracted to the study of political communication, as defined by the writer. An increasing number of political scientists are becoming interested in communication and decision-making and are utilizing empirical methods to study these phenomena. Semanticists, students of rumor in organization, students of formal and informal organization, and those studying cybernetics might all play a part in studying the different systems described by the author.

In conclusion, the focus for the projected center seems to be a very strategic one both from the standpoint of the interests of scholars and the concepts and methods which they bring to the study of communication. From another standpoint, it seems very clear that communication is central to the life of any kind of organization. Therefore, the illumination of organizational communication should be of relevance to all those responsible for policy-making and administration in organizations.

Finally, it is worth noting that the Cooperative Research Program of the United States Office of Education now provides funds to aid universities to develop research centers. If a center were to be designed which would focus upon communication in education, the grant program of the U. S. Office would be relevant. Put differently, federal support might conceivably be obtained for a center which would limit its efforts to the study of communication within the context of educational politics. Such a focus is thoroughly justified in view of the increasing importance of education in our society.

Mass Media and Educational Policy

School board members and superintendents are being and will be faced with unusual problems of policy during the next decade. A school public relations director noted during the conference, for example, that the substantial increase in student enrollment near the end of this decade and in the early seventies will bring unprecedented demands. Policy problems related to enrollment increases will be aggravated by the unusual retirement rate of teachers, administrators and other personnel during the years ahead. Many industries are now giving careful consideration to the population bulge and are projecting plans for needed buildings and new products. However, it is apparent that few school boards and superintendents are now giving active consideration to the population bulge.

Could school public relations directors, social scientists and mass communication experts use mass media to inform boards and school superintendents about population trends during the next decade and, thereby, help clarify important policy implications for school districts? Such a project might involve the following steps: (1) the organization of information about population trends; (2) the identification of crucial policy questions which stem from these trends; (3) the packaging of this information in appropriate mass media; (4) the field testing of the media with selected school boards and superintendents; (5) revision of content and refinement of media; (6) the final packaging of the information in mass media; (7) making available the package to policy makers in school districts. Population experts, school personnel and media specialists would be involved in developing the package.

It seems clear that much of the population information would have to be projected from a national perspective. However, some information could be provided from a regional and state perspective so that adaptations could be made to various parts of the country. Information could also be presented which would enable state administrator and school board associations to develop information in their own states and for their own school districts.

The above example is only one of several possibilities for using mass media to help policy makers come to grips with questions of educational purposes, directions and programs for the future. Prototype sets of materials could be developed to sensitize board members and superintendents to other problem areas such as race relations, church-state relations and collective negotiations.

In such an undertaking, the following guides could be used: (1) a very careful selection and delimitation of problem areas; (2) intensive research in the areas chosen; (3) utilization of the most effective media for organizing and presenting the information; and (4) field testing to see that the media and information are relevant for the purposes for which they are designed.

Evaluation of School-Community Communications

One writer stressed the concept of "uncommunication." He noted that "uncommunication" exists in part because communication is seldom systematically evaluated. He maintained that written or audio-visual communication can be studied and that its effects can be forecast. He illustrated the point as follows:

> For example, a brochure can be written and its positive-negative profile determined through a method developed by Roy Carter of the University of Minnesota. Through revision, this profile can increase the effects of the brochure.
>
> Another example: a film can be tested in storyboard form through an operant conditioning device.
>
> The individual has to press a switch sixty times or more a minute to see the video. He hears the audio. If he is not interested in the video, he slows down on the switch-pressing rate. This device has been used with a small sample to predict results of a large sample of several hundred.
>
> The device was originated by Ogden Lindsley, then at the Harvard Medical School. It was developed and programmed by Wallace Wallace at Associates for Research in Behavior, Philadelphia, under a grant from Du Pont.
>
> Quite general forecasts of effects of the average message about education can be made, such as the following:
>
> Most of the time, most of the people will not see or hear the average message about education. If exposed, most will not read or listen. Of the fewer than one in ten who do not read or listen, many will not understand, many will not change in attitude. If there is communication, most of the effects will decay in a few days. Of those who do learn, change and remember, most will be concentrated in the upper quartile in intelligence.
>
> Yet if research is applied before a message or a campaign or a program is released, the effects can be increased 10-20-30 percent.

The need for developing programs and techniques to evaluate and to pre-test school communications is clear. Efforts could focus upon internal and/or external communications. Specialists in evaluation would necessarily have to work with school public relations experts. The pay-off of such joint efforts could be substantial.

CONCLUSION

The content of the various papers prepared by seminar participants suggest several conclusions. First, it is clear that the writers (particularly directors of school public relations programs) saw an urgent need for more and better research on mass communication. The kinds of research suggested were varied and related to all major aspects of the communication process. Secondly, since communication processes are so central to the life of organizations and since they impinge upon other basic organizational processes such as decision-making, maintenance of morale and initiation of change, they offer social scientists, journalists and educators substantial research opportunities. Finally, more effective utilization of existing knowledge offers major challenges to those interested in improved school public relations. Developmental work could make use of new technologies for evaluating communication processes, modern media for communicating educational facts, concepts and problems and emerging generalizations about communication. Successful developmental work will require cooperation among school public relation experts, scholars and technicians. The Temple University Seminar on mass communication, in addition to establishing the need for research and development activities, provided an improved base for initiating such activities.

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